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Vol. 122 July 30, 1919 No. 13

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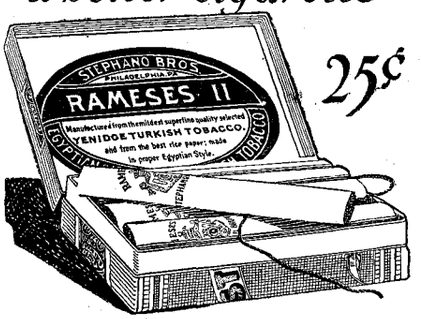

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The Outlook

JULY 30, 1919

THE ISSUE OF SHANTUNG

MUCH of the time of the Senate has been occupied lately in a discussion of the provision in the Treaty of Versailles which transfers to Japan the privileges which Germany held in China. As these privileges related to territory and a port on the peninsula of Shantung, the provision in the Treaty has come to be known as the Shantung provision. It is commonly but inexactly said that by the Treaty Japan gets Shantung.

The widespread and vigorous protest against this transfer of German rights to Japan is easily understood. China was one of America's allies in the war. When the President called upon neutrals to break off relations with Germany, China at once did so, and later became a belligerent. Her part in the war was by no means negligible. Though she had no combatant troops at the front, she had thousands of laborers who did essential work which otherwise troops fit for combat might have had to do. She ran considerable risk, for German propaganda in China was very active, and in case of a German victory China would have suffered severely. To reward China by taking property which Germany had secured from China under duress and turning it, not back to China, but over to Japan, on the ground that Japan drove the Germans out before China declared war, is hardly an obviously just way to treat an ally. The Shantung provision has by no means satisfied our own peace delegates or the delegates of other countries.

China's attitude has been expressed in The Outlook by Dr. C. T. Wang, delegate of the Chinese Republic to the Peace Conference, in an authorized interview with The Outlook's staff correspondent, Mr. Gregory Mason, in its issue for June 25. It is again stated in the present issue of The Outlook by Mr. Wu, another delegate to the Peace Conference. In order intelligently to understand the situation it is well to remember certain facts.

There is no transfer of sovereignty. Germany had no sovereign rights in Shantung, and by the Treaty Japan acquires none. In practical effect, this may not seem important, for the lease and the concession held by Germany now given to Japan imply a control over Chinese territory which would not be tolerated by America if a foreign Power attempted to exercise it over American territory. Nevertheless it is well to remember that this question is not one of changing China's franchise, but is one of what amounts to a lease.

In the second place, there is no direct transfer of Shantung Province to Japan. The province of Shantung and the peninsula of Shantung should be clearly distinguished. Shantung Province has been compared to the combined area of Pennsylvania and Virginia, while the territory in which Japan has acquired concessions has been compared to the District of Columbia, being only a fourth larger than that District.

Representatives of Japan have given assurances, as in the interview of Marquis Kimmochi Saionji with Gregory Mason in The Outlook for July 2, that Japan will give back the leased territory to China "except a little land at Tsingtao;" and we should have faith in their word.

What angers the Chinese is not the size of the territory turned over, but the apparent callousness of China's allies in treating her as not one of them would think of treating a strong Power. Even if the control of Kiaochau Bay, the lease of land, and the railway and mining concessions did not give a foreign Power a strangle-hold upon an enormous Chinese territory, the nominal transfer of such privileges to a foreign Power would be irritating. The fact that the transfer was the price paid for Japan's adherence to the Treaty naturally does not make it any more acceptable to China, for, as she views it, it is a price paid by her allies at her expense.

SECRETARY BAKER AND THE CZECHS

One of the most valiant achievements in history is that of the Czechoslovaks in Russia. It has elements in it of the romantic and the epic. First unwilling conscripts of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, then willing prisoners of the Russians, then vigorous and disciplined fighters against their former masters and oppressors, these Czechoslovaks found themselves on the collapse of Russia unable to do any more fighting there, unable to work their way through Germany to the western front, and out of reach of the peoples who were their truest allies. So, disciplined in the midst of anarchy, faithful to the cause which those about them had forgotten, they started across Siberia. There the war found them, and there they joined the Russians who loved law as well as liberty in withstanding the successors to the Prussian enemy—the Red tyranny.

If America ever owed anything to a group of foreign soldiers, she owes a great debt to these Czechoslovaks. Some of these Czechoslovaks are in this country now. A thousand or so of them were in Washington on July 18, and were reviewed and addressed by the President.

While these soldiers were in review the Secretary of War, Mr. Baker, was being plied with questions concerning the payment of the expense of the transportation of Czechoslovaks from Siberia. Representative Wood, of Indiana, asked, in the form of a resolution, why four thousand Czechoslovaks were brought to this country and quartered at Camp Kearney when there were three thousand or more of the United States soldiers in Siberia awaiting an opportunity to come home. Mr. Baker denied the accuracy of the facts alleged. There are only twelve hundred Czechoslovaks at Camp Kearney, and no American soldiers waiting an opportunity to come home, for they have not been ordered home. Mr. Baker further stated that there was plenty of transportation if they were ordered home; that there were empty transports coming eastward; and that the bill would be paid by the Czechoslovak Government. When questioned as to his authority to use funds in this way, he said:

> There is no mystery about it. Undoubtedly the funds would come from the Quartermaster's department. I certainly don't think there is any specific provision in the law for transporting Czechoslovak soldiers across the United States. But the authority given to the President in connection with his funds is certainly sufficiently elastic.

This is a case where the Roosevelt principle as to an Executive's action applies. When a thing was needed to be done, President Roosevelt did not ask whether as Executive he was authorized by law to do it, but whether he was prohibited by law from doing it. By his action in this case Mr. Baker has not only done himself, but his country, honor.

WARNING

American good nature, which is proverbial, needs watching. It ought not to be allowed to weaken our determination to finish what we undertook when we entered the war. Witnesses generally agree that American soldiers soon after entering the occupied region of Germany

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were inclined to forget what they had been through and what they had seen, though further acquaintance with the Germans revived their memories. On this side of the water we are encountering the revival of subtle forms of German propaganda. Though addressed to the men of the First Division as a Division order by its commander, Major-General E. F. McGlachlin, Jr.'s, warning is one that might well circulate in every part of this country among the civilian population.

We should like to quote it in full; but perhaps some of its spirit and purpose can be gathered from these sentences taken from it:

> German eyes look and see, Boche ears listen and hear, Hun lips tell all the half-truths and lies, and only those truths calculated to accomplish their particular selfish objects.
>
> Our enemy still attempts always to impose his ideas on the world. . . . Beaten by Allied arms under American impetus, he denies that he was defeated, but claims that he was deceived. . . .
>
> Far beyond the requirements of military necessity he killed American women and children through his underseas piracy, killed and maimed English women and children through bombardment of undefended places, destroyed French mines beyond repair for fifteen years, and ruined and stole Belgian machinery for no purpose except to delay resumption of industry that his own might more greatly prosper. . . .
>
> Having through greed inflicted infinite losses upon us and our allies, he now whines and weeps and wrings his hands that he is called upon for reparation in kind, though not in measure, for his misdeeds. . . .
>
> Contemptible, his might is no longer to be feared, though he is dangerous. He is dangerous because without conscience he conducts an organized, unscrupulous campaign to deny his unmeasured crimes, to create mutual distrust between the Allies, to make us suspicious of each other, to plant in our minds the seeds of doubt of our principles, our institutions, and our President, to gain sympathy for his future imaginary distress.
>
> There is nothing consistent between German public motive and American spirit and ideals. . . .
>
> Let us see everything, hear everything, of value to our cause, say nothing to our enemy. Let us present and maintain our honor, perform exactly our duty, devote ourselves loyally to our country.

ACCUSATIONS OF CRUELTY TO MILITARY PRISONERS

What has been circulated as a matter of common report concerning the cruel treatment of National Guard and National Army men by American guards in France is under investigation by a special committee of the House of Representatives. It is, however, by no means now a matter of common report. Colonel J. Leslie Kincaid, former Judge-Advocate of the Twenty-seventh Division, has sent to the Secretary of War a letter and the copy of a report which he and Colonel Wainwright made to General O'Ryan. His report is not, and does not purport to be, the evidence of a witness, but rather a statement based on the testimony given by witnesses as heard by them.

Among the statements is the following concerning the evidence of soldiers detained in Paris while returning from leave:

> These soldiers complain that at the Petit Rouget, commonly known as the Bastille in Paris, the whole atmosphere and spirit of the institution, as evidenced by the profanity, vulgar and obscene epithets used against the prisoners, appear to be a spirit of intense hatred and hostility against the National Guard. . . . Complaints were also made by the men questioned on the score of overcrowding, sanitary conditions, failure to provide either time or facilities to wash, and continual insults by the guard.

Colonels Kincaid and Wainwright describe Prison Camp No. 2 as being, according to the statements made by the soldiers, in a condition "rivaling that of Siberian prison camps and much worse than conditions which existed in German prison of war cages." They call attention to the fact that property not only of material but also of sentimental value, including official decorations and photographs of a soldier's mother and his sweetheart, were confiscated. It is also stated that the prisoners were compelled to drill "in front of muzzles of machine guns and automatic rifles, a precaution which might be justified with condemned murderers, but is hardly to be expected in the American Army as part of the routine of an ordinary camp of detention."

Such an investigation ought not to be regarded as a "post-mortem." It ought to be pressed till the outrages are disproved or established and punished. If the country is to count on the patriotic services of its citizens in future emergencies, it must make assurance doubly sure that outrages shall not be allowed to hide under the cover of military necessity until they are forgotten.

PROHIBITION IN CONGRESS

The Volstead Bill passed the House of Representatives on July 22 by a vote of 287 to 100, substantially as originally reported from committee. The failure of most of the modifying amendments proposed had previously indicated clearly the temper and purpose of the House, which throughout has stood strongly in favor of passing the bill and in opposition to any serious change. It is expected that practically the same bill will now be brought before the Senate for action.

An attempt to make all possession of alcoholic beverages a legal offense failed after an animated debate. The sentiment of the country against offensive searches in private houses was reflected in this action of the House. But the bill still forbids such possession of liquor as is evidently for the purpose of sale in violation of the other provisions of the law, and puts the burden of proof on the possessor. It permits the possession of liquor in private dwellings, but to be used only for "personal consumption of the owner thereof and his family residing in such dwelling and bona-fide guests when entertained by him."

The bill retains its original definition of intoxicating beverages as those containing one-half of one per cent, or more, of alcohol. This applies to the Constitutional Amendment as well as to the war-time bill. The attempt to separate the provisions of the bill relating to the two prohibitory measures failed entirely.

THE PACIFIC FLEET

With the coming of world peace it is possible to put into actuality the long-considered plan of making what has been called a two-ocean American Navy. We have had heretofore on the Pacific warships but not a fleet, nor has there been proper provision for naval building, docking, and repairing. Now it is proposed to put the two coasts on an equality in all those things.

Admiral Rodman sailed for the Pacific coast on July 19 at the head of an efficient and formidable squadron. It included six superdreadnoughts, thirty destroyers, and scores of auxiliary craft. Other ships will follow. Hereafter the Pacific will have its seaboard guarded as strongly as has the Atlantic. Attack in neither quarter is feared, nor is attack probable in the near future. But the value of naval preparedness is in what it prevents becoming possible or probable, and this is as true of one coast as the other.

The Panama Canal makes the time of the passage from the North Atlantic to the North Pacific coasts a minor matter compared with what it was when the Oregon made its famous voyage in the war with Spain. Admiral Rodman's fleet will make the first naval trial of the Canal route on a large scale, and the result will be watched with interest. The Panama Canal's value as the connecting passageway between our two fleets cannot be overestimated.

With two such extended National ocean fronts to protect, the American Navy ought to be kept in the highest possible state of efficiency, and to be large

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enough to serve its double guard duty adequately and impressively.

THE MEXICAN QUESTION AGAIN TO THE FRONT

Hardly a week passes by in which some new affront or injury to Americans or some new attempt to injure American investments in Mexico does not stir up anew the troublous question: When and how are normal and peaceful conditions to exist in that country? Last week it was reported that armed Mexicans had attacked a motor launch belonging to a United States war-ship on the shore near Tampico and that the sailors had been plundered and ill treated. This incident inevitably recalls that other incident near Tampico in which American sailors were arrested and our flag was insulted—an incident which led to the occupation of Vera Cruz by our forces. The present Tampico attack may not be important in itself, but it is insulting and irritating. It emphasizes the fact that the present Government of Mexico is unable to protect foreigners within that country.

No doubt apologies will be forthcoming, and also promises of punishment to be meted out to the bandits who robbed our sailors. This is exactly what has happened in the case of the American, John W. Correll, who was recently slain by Mexican bandits. Carranza's Government has just declared that it will omit no efforts to prosecute those responsible for the crime. Since the Correll murder another murder by Mexican bandits is reported, that of a British subject, Theodore Patterson, a miner in Zacatecas. And it is only a few weeks ago that American troops entered Mexico when Villa's forces attacked Juarez and incidentally fired upon the American town of El Paso, just across the bridge.

In urging that a commission be appointed by Congress to inquire into the relations between Mexico and the United States and to suggest some way to improve these relations and to make American life and property safe across the border, Mr. N. J. Gould, a New York Representative, declared that since 1910 over three hundred Americans had lost their lives by murderous attack in Mexico. Another investigator, Mr. Wallace Thompson, who was formerly an American Vice-Consul in Mexico, has gathered statistics which indicate that over $80,000,000 worth of physical damage has been done in recent years to American property in Mexico.

The basic trouble in our relations with Mexico is undoubtedly the inability of Carranza to keep the peace and enforce security throughout the country. If this inability on his part continues, it is evident that sooner or later the situation will become so serious that measures of corresponding seriousness will have to be taken. The proposal that Congress should appoint a commission to study and report on the present relations of the two countries and the responsibility for what is evil, and to propose remedies, is sound in principle and should be adopted.

SOUTHERN PROTESTS AGAINST LYNCHING

A "press symposium" of several pages has been collated by the "Southern Workman" of Hampton Institute. It includes extracts from journals in eleven Southern cities on the subject of lynching, and it may fairly claim to represent the sober-minded and patriotic white sentiment of the South. Almost without exception these extracts lay emphasis on the belief that the courts are not letting crime go unpunished and that it is an insult to the State laws and their enforcement for mobs to act as judge and jury; Judge Lynch may be called for in a raw, pioneer country, but not in civilized America.

Two things have lately called out renewed denunciation of the practice of lynching. One is a growth of sixty per cent in the total reported lynchings for 1918 as compared with 1917—there has been a slight decrease, we are glad to add, in the figures for the first half of 1919—as shown by the statement compiled by the Tuskegee Institute. It may be added that of the eighty-three Negroes lynched in the whole eighteen months twenty-three (a little over a quarter) were charged with assaults on women, and the other causes ran all the way from murder to "alleged participation in an alleged hog-stealing." The Louisville "Courier-Journal" declares that this record as to causes (which corresponds pretty evenly as to this point with those of former years) controverts by figures the common statement that lynching is due to passionate resentment when crimes against women have been committed.

The other thing which has aroused horror and deprecation in the South, as it has elsewhere, has been a recent renewal of the form of lynching that includes torture and burning at the stake. This form of surviving barbarism appears, apparently, in waves; for years little is heard of it; then a single atrocity of the kind is followed by others in quick succession. The subject is not one upon which it is pleasing to enter into detail; but that in some places public education against horrible cruelty is needed is shown by the fact that we have before us facsimiles of parts of two newspapers of last month *announcing beforehand* the "expected" burning of a Negro at the stake.

We believe that the true sentiment of a vast majority of cultivated Southern people is truly expressed by the Montgomery "Journal" when it says: "Lynching does us incalculable harm on the economic side. It hurts also, since it is interpreted as the evidence of a low state of civilization. The few who are lawless have the power to cast discredit upon the whole Southern people. The way to escape is through the creation and establishment of sound public opinion."

THE SACRIFICE OF SERBIA

A bulletin lately issued by the American Relief Administration said: "Serbia is undoubtedly the country most ravaged by the war. Besides its losses in food supplies and raw material and the demolition of factories and all transportation systems, Serbia has lost more of her civil population than any other country engaged in the world struggle." And Milos Savic, a member of the Central Committee for Serbian Reconstruction, is quoted in the "Economic World" to the effect that the losses of Serbia, a small and poor country, are estimated to have amounted to two and a half billion dollars exclusive of war expenses, loans from allies, etc., and that to replace these losses would now cost double the money.

Serbia "stood as a barrier in Germany's way from Berlin to Bagdad." Few of us are able to realize that if she had not so stood in all human probability the peace at Versailles would be a German peace. A free road to the East meant for the Teuton world domination—if not to-day, then to-morrow.

But Serbia barred the way till the danger was passed, and Serbia pays the penalty. In revenge her enemies attempted, not only to destroy her politically and economically as a state, but to exterminate her people, to destroy them root and branch that they might never again rise up to thwart Teutonic *Kultur*. Museums, libraries, universities, schools, and churches were looted and destroyed; live stock killed and carried away; timber, vineyards and orchards cut down and ruined; agricultural and industrial machinery removed to the enemies' country or wantonly wrecked; old men and women and young children tortured and killed with or without pretext. Teachers, both religious and secular, were especially marked out for destruction; and as to the fate of the younger women, mothers, wives, and daughters, read the reports of the neutral Swiss Dr. Reiss, of the University of Lausanne, and of the American Committee of Public Information.

WHY SERBIA NEEDS HELP

The beginnings of modern Serbia date from the year 1804. Though not

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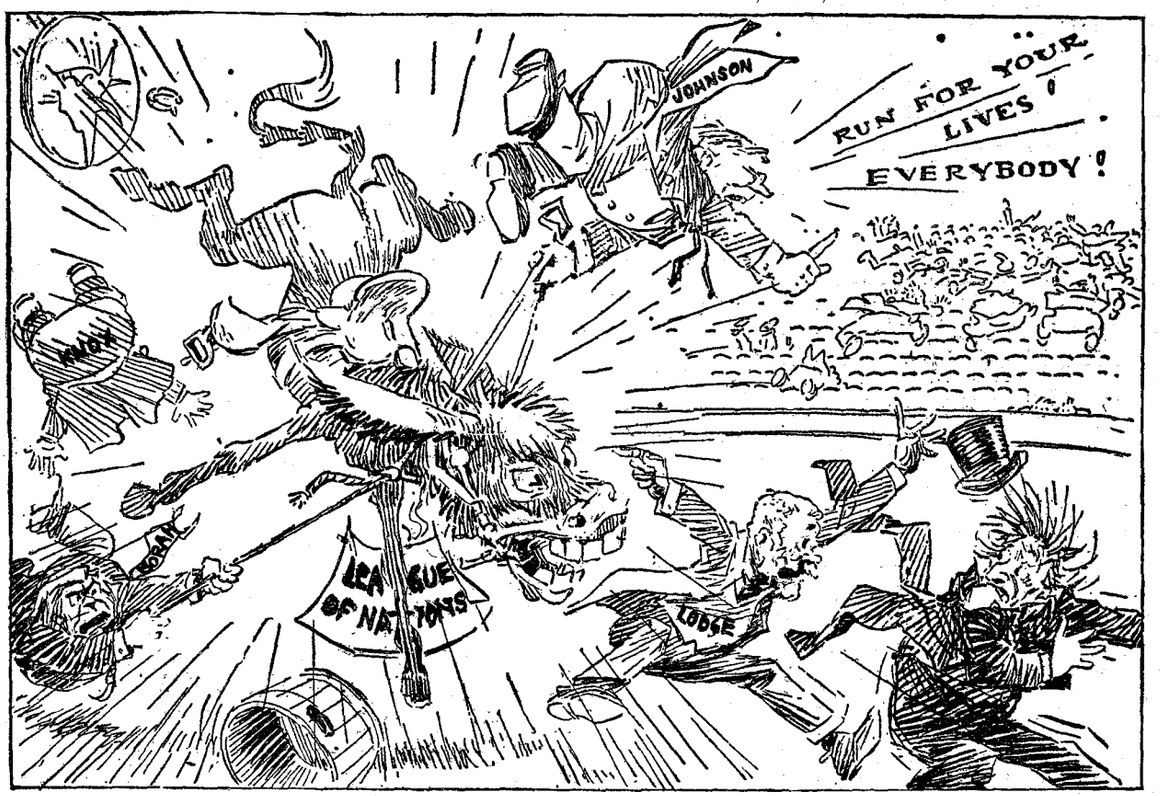
CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

Darling in the New York Tribune

YOU'D HARDLY RECOGNIZE IT AS THE SAME ANIMAL; NOW, WOULD YOU—



WHEN THE SENATE GETS IN THE RING WITH THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS,

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AND WHEN THE PRESIDENT CONDUCTS THE PERFORMANCE

WHICH?

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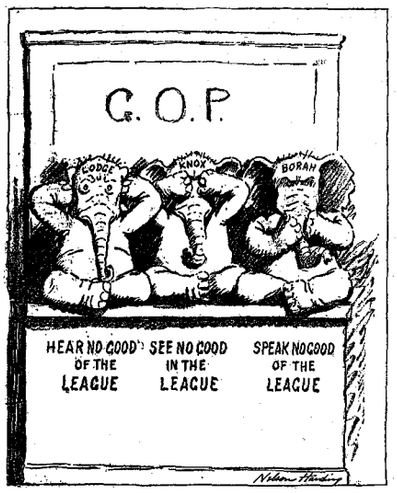
Bronstrup in the San Francisco Chronicle

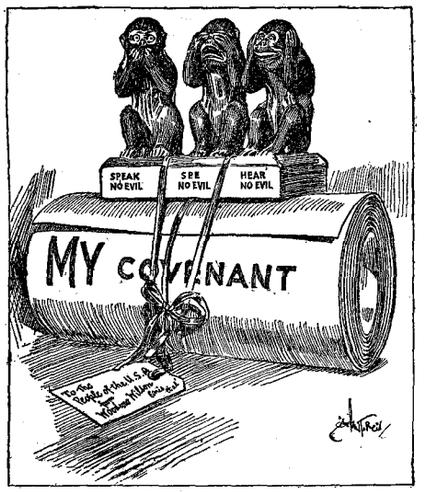
ADDING TO HIS COLLECTION

Nelson Harding in the Brooklyn Daily Eagle



THREE LITTLE ELEPHANTS

Reid in the Omaha Daily Bee



"OURS NOT TO REASON WHY"

TWO CARTOONISTS MAKE USE IN CONTRARY WAYS OF THE WELL-KNOWN EMBLEM "HEAR NO EVIL; SEE NO EVIL; SPEAK NO EVIL"

From Le Pêle-Mêle (Paris)

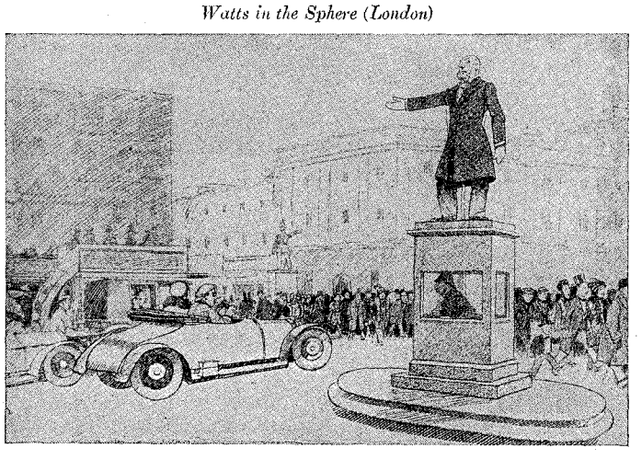
OUR DEAR TOURISTS

He: "That castle was built by Charlemagne."
She: "Fine! But why the deuce did he build it so far from the railway station?"

Low in London Opinion

Small Son (excitedly): "Dad! Albert 'as just been an' fallen off the end of the pier!"
Overwrought Father: "Halbert! Mother, did we 'ave a Albert?"

Watts in the Sphere (London)



THE PUBLIC STATUES OF LONDON MIGHT BE EMPLOYED FOR THE PURPOSE OF CONTROLLING TRAFFIC AT DENSELY CONGESTED SPOTS

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possessing great wealth in money, the people of the Peasant Kingdom have been rich in contentment, for they occupied a country of small farms where each family owned its own land, often the same fruitful fields for which its men in the past had fought and bled for a thousand years. Ninety per cent of the people are agricultural. The land that fed the peasant was his; not even the Government itself could take it from him for debt.

We have the testimony of an English traveler that even in 1897, when the ox still trod out the grain and the chaff was winnowed from the wheat as in the days of Ruth and Boaz, so great is the fertility of the soil that the Serbian farmer, after supplying his own needs and making his yearly contribution to the communal granaries—his sure defense against want in bad years—could still, if he chose, lay up half the value of his yearly crops. The same traveler, Mr. Herbert Vivian, placed the average yield of hay from unsown meadows as high as six tons to the acre.

Placing the value of one year's harvest in Serbia at about four hundred million dollars, Mr. Savic declares that the enemy seized three harvests. The invaders destroyed 130,000 horses, 6,000,000 sheep and goats, 2,000,000 pigs, 1,300,000 cattle, and more than 8,000,000 poultry —this in a purely farming country, where all agricultural machines, every implement down to the most trivial, had also been carried away or destroyed! But for the food of America, this meant quick starvation for ninety per cent of the Serbian people. It still means a prolonged and stern struggle for the merest necessities against fearful odds. And it means that Serbia is confronted by another vast problem, altogether new to her, upon the solution of which depends the future of the entire race—the care and protection of a multitude of helpless and destitute children. The Serbian Minister of Child Welfare places the number in Jugoslavia at "above half a million—eighty-five per cent of the cases in dire need of medical treatment." It is physically impossible for ruined, disorganized Serbia herself to give that care and protection.

The picture drawn by the late Hamilton W. Mabie is essentially as true to-day as it was in 1915. He wrote in The Outlook, November 3, 1915: "These children are not orphans in the ordinary sense. They have not only lost their fathers and mothers, but they have lost all personal relations with the world. Many of them are in parts of the country which is strange to them; they do not know who their relations are, some of them do not know their own names. . . . Perhaps never in the world has there been such a pitiful condition as that of these thousands of friendless, homeless, shirtless children." He added, "The problem is not only physical, it is also moral. Those of the children who survive are in danger of becoming beggars and criminals."

Since those words were written, to the natural horrors borne by these children have been added the fear and merciless cruelty of man during three years of Teutonic and Bulgarian frightfulness.

SHOULD THE PEACE TREATY BE RATIFIED?

ON another page we print some letters on this question from readers of The Outlook. They are perhaps typical of the various shades of opinion in the country regarding the League of Nations. We do not undertake to answer each query or comment in these letters, but use their publication as an occasion to restate briefly our own position.

Riders: Legislation by "riders" is unequivocally bad and should never be tolerated even when the object which the "rider" is designed to obtain is good. A "rider" is a clause which is tacked on to an important bill, although its subject is foreign to the general purpose of the bill, and is not an integral part of it. Legislators who employ "riders" hope that they will be carried through by the reluctance of their colleagues to delay the passage, often vital to the country, of the bill itself.

Thus the immediate passage of the Agricultural Bill was necessary for the maintenance of the vital work of the Government. The repeal or continuance of daylight saving had nothing to do with agricultural appropriations. The repeal should have been considered, even if desirable, by itself. The League of Nations, even if undesirable, is not only germane to the Treaty, but is a part of the Treaty. A legislator having the ultimate interests of the country at heart should always vote against "riders;" he may or may not vote against a bill because he objects to one of its sections or clauses. Those who oppose the League of Nations, if logical, should oppose it, not on the ground that it is a "rider"—for it is not—but on the ground that it is an objectionable section of a bill which should be defeated if the obnoxious section or clauses are not removed by amendment.

Should there be amendments? Our judgment is that there should not.

For at least a quarter of a century enlightened statesmen have been trying to establish machinery for settling, as far as possible, international disputes by judicial procedure. The world war, suddenly and dramatically, convinced the world of the necessity of some international tribunal. The five great nations most instrumental in winning the war have, after laborious conference, devised such a plan. They amended the plan and attempted to safeguard the special interests of the United States on receiving suggestions from American statesmen not actively participating in the Peace Conference. The plan provides a method for future amendments if they should be found desirable, as they doubtless will be, after the plan is put into operation. It also provides a simple method of withdrawal for any nation that does not like the plan after it has tried it. In ordinary personal or business contracts and agreements such provisions would be considered liberal and extremely safe for the contracting parties. Nations are simply individuals acting on a grand scale. A principle which is safe in individual relationships is safe in national relationships. If the present opportunity of trying international judicial procedure, supported by thirty-two nations of the world, is rejected, who knows when mankind will have another such chance? If the United States Senate amends the Treaty, it will in fact reject it. The Treaty will have to go back to a reconvened Peace Conference at Paris for concurrence. Can the Conference be reconvened? Will it concur if reconvened? Do we want to run the risk? The Outlook thinks not.

Reservations: Will "reservations" destroy the Treaty? No, if they are put in supplementary form and in general terms. If, for example, the Senate should say of Articles VIII and X that it accepts them with the clear understanding that the final authority regarding reduction of armaments or participation in war by the United States rests in Congress, no harm could be done. But the necessity for such reservations is not apparent to us. For in these matters the explicit language of the Covenant is that the action of the Executive Council of the League shall be simply *recommendatory* and *advisory*. The danger of reservations is that they may be so framed as to make practical interpretation of the Covenant difficult.

For these reasons, while we do not object to simple reservations, we should advise, if asked, against them. They seem to us in danger of increasing rather than diminishing the difficulties of the situation. The common-sense course is to start the machine, see how it works, and modify it after observing its operation.

The Duty of the Republican Party: We repeat what we have already said about the tactical blunder of the Republican leaders. If we were those leaders, we should, from a purely party point of view, ratify the Treaty as soon as pos-

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sible. Our political aim would be to get the Treaty out of the way and leave nothing for the President to debate, no opportunity for him in his projected campaign this summer to put the Republican party in the position of obstructionists.

Whoever wishes to be a leader of the American people must look toward the future. He cannot lead by merely criticising the actions of the past. If Lincoln had simply attacked the preposterous doctrine of Buchanan that a State had no right to secede, but that if it attempted to secede the Nation had no right to coerce it, he never would have been elected President. He led a campaign, not of obstructive criticism, but of constructive statesmanship. In 1916 the Republican party managers devoted themselves almost wholly to criticism of their opponents and made almost no constructive pronouncements as to the European war. Mr. Hughes was beaten. Are the party managers going to repeat that mistake?

Constructive Problems: The problem before our country and before the whole world is: How can we make our industrial institutions correspond in their spirit to our political and educational institutions?

How can we so reorganize our transportation system that it shall provide justly for the interests of the railway owners, the railway workers, and the railway users, including both shippers and travelers?

How can we secure a management of our telegraph and telephone systems so as to make intercommunication in this country prompt, efficient, and economical, so that the whole system shall be open on something like equal terms to all the people, as is our postal system?

What can we do to secure for all the people of the United States the benefit on just and equal terms of those raw materials which are essential to human welfare and, indeed, to human life—fuel, light, and food?

What can we do to set in motion those social forces which shall make for a more equitable division of property and better opportunity for the physical, mental, and moral development of all the people, and put an end to the slums which are pestilential plague-holes in many of our factory and mining towns, and in our great cities?

Farming appears to be almost necessarily individualistic; manufacturing, almost necessarily highly organized. What can we do to protect the welfare of the farming community from the too great power of the organized industries on which the farmers necessarily depend?

The present condition of organized industry is too often that of chronic and suppressed hostility between the laborers and the capitalists; they should be partners, united by a common interest and working for a common welfare. What can we do, not merely to prevent the ruinous strikes which imperil the peace of the whole community, but to cure this false attitude of suppressed hostility?

In one sentence, What is the next step for us to take in perfecting that American brotherhood which will unite men of various races, classes, traditions, prejudices, and religious faiths in one truly free and truly co-operative commonwealth?

The man who can point out the direction in which the Nation should move for the solution of these problems will be our leader; the journal which can throw real light upon these problems will not lack for interested and appreciative readers; and the party which can propose a solution or partial solution which seems to the American people just and practicable will secure their votes.

But whoever desires to lead or to act for the American people and in their interest must not waste his time or theirs over the problems that are past, must not halt or hesitate to take up new problems, and must not fear to arouse the bitterest opposition by the Anarchists on the one hand and by the autocrats on the other.

THE EDUCATION OF HENRY FORD

AMONG the famous definitions will undoubtedly hereafter be included some made by Henry Ford. According to him, as a witness in court, "'aggression' means to burglarize," "apostle" means "helper," "treason" means "anything against the Government," "preparedness" is the same as "militarism," a "mobile army" is a "large army mobilized," and "an idealist, I think, is a person that can help make people prosperous."

In explaining some of these definitions Mr. Ford succeeded in making them somewhat more obscure. For example, in admitting that he was an "ignorant idealist"—using the word in the sense of one who makes people prosperous—he added, "I believe I can do it a little." In explaining further his idea of treason as anything against the Government, he was asked, "By whom?" and answered, "By an Anarchist, I guess." When he was asked, "What did you mean when you said that treason was something that was against the Government by Anarchists?" Mr. Ford answered, "It was against militarism, or it was militarism."

The words which he thus defined are all words which Mr. Ford—or rather his publicity agent whom he hired to write for him and for whose writing he repeatedly acknowledged himself responsible—used in a campaign of newspaper advertising to educate the people. He used words without knowing their meaning. It was as if he were to spend money without knowing its value. When Mr. Ford uses the word "idealist," it is as if he were giving a check for a million dollars under the impression that it might be worth perhaps a hundred dollars or two.

Mr. Ford's testimony was given in a suit which he is bringing against the Chicago "Tribune" for libel, because the "Tribune" spoke of him as an Anarchist. It was natural, therefore, that the "Tribune's" counsel should cross-examine him about his ideas of anarchy. This is a part of the cross-examination:

> "Now, going back to the question that we were referring to: You don't seem to be very clear what a condition of anarchy would be, do you, Mr. Ford?"
>
> "War, I guess, is a condition of anarchy, as much as anything."
>
> "Anybody who was in favor of war would be an Anarchist?"
>
> "Not in favor of war."
>
> "Isn't any one who is in favor of anarchy an Anarchist?"
>
> "I was in favor of war when we got into it."
>
> "Do you question that a man who is in favor of anarchy is an Anarchist?"
>
> "He might not be."
>
> "Can you suggest any idea that anybody who is in favor of anarchy is not an Anarchist? Isn't that the real test?"
>
> "I don't know. I cannot suggest anything."
>
> "You cannot tell whether a man who was in favor of anarchy is or is not an Anarchist?"
>
> "He may be in favor of some phrase [*sic*] of it."
>
> "What phrase?"
>
> "He might be in favor of some of it."
>
> "You would not recognize that a man who was in favor of a continuation of anarchy would be an Anarchist, do you?"
>
> "I don't know, I am sure."

Naturally, as Mr. Ford regards an Anarchist as necessarily a man who throws bombs, he resents being called an Anarchist.

Mr. Ford does not seem to think that ignorance is a limitation. On the contrary, he takes the position that if he wants any facts he can hire some one to get them for him. As a consequence, he is quite ready to acknowledge his ignorance of history and dismiss it as a matter of no consequence. "Do you know," he was asked, "when the United States was created?" "I could find it in a few minutes," replied Mr. Ford. And when he was asked again, "Do you know?" he answered, "I don't know as I do, right offhand." He admitted that he had heard of the name of Benedict Arnold, but when he was asked who he was Mr. Ford replied, "I have forgot-

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ten just who he is. He is a writer, I think."

But Mr. Ford has been educated. He acknowledges it. Once he called those who advocated preparedness "murderers;" and he still thinks, in a way, that professional soldiers are murderers; but he admits now that under certain circumstances it is well for a country to be prepared, and he seems unwilling to put General Pershing or General Grant into the category of murderers. Once he thought it possible and reasonable to stop the war by a peace expedition; so he fitted one out at great expense and went himself to Europe to get the boys out of the trenches; but now he has learned that the war in which America joined was not to be stopped that way.

Yes; Henry Ford has been educated. But at what expense? It has been said that the best way for a person to learn a foreign language is to set himself up as a teacher of it. It may be best for the alleged teacher, but how about the pupils? Mr. Ford has been learning about government, citizenship, military defense, and the principles of liberty and justice for which men from time immemorial have been willing to fight. He has learned of these things by undertaking to be a teacher of them. As a result of his education he has given his country patriotic service, but his education has been costly. The cost of his education is not to be reckoned merely in the dollars that he has expended upon the process, though they run into the millions; its greatest cost has been to the people whom he has undertaken to educate.

Mr. Ford is an advocate of efficiency. Is his method of education an efficient method? Is it necessary to spend hundreds of thousands of dollars and to impart to others the confusion of mind which the pupil suffers from in order that the pupil may acquire a little knowledge of history and government and the principles of law and liberty?

There is a simpler method. It is one which has been adopted by the American people and costs much less than that employed by Mr. Ford. It is the method used in our schools and colleges. It is followed by our public school system. It is a method used by men who have had less schooling than Henry Ford; it was the method which Abraham Lincoln adopted. It is the method of studying what men have done in the past, the results of their experience, the records of the best that they have thought, and the means that they have used to express themselves. That method is by no means perfect, but it provides the pupils who really give it a full trial some better education than Mr. Ford has received, and the tuition fee is something less than a million dollars per pupil.

THE CLASSICS AND RECONSTRUCTION

LAST week reference was made editorially in The Outlook to recent utterances on the abiding value of the classics by Dr. John H. Finley and by a writer in the "Atlantic Monthly." Now comes a novel contribution to the discussion in a pamphlet on "The Classics in British Education." It is written by the Director of the British Museum, Sir Frederic Kenyon, and is notably moderate in its views and generous in its recognition of the claims of other than classical subjects.

But what makes the pamphlet of special interest is the fact that it is one of a series put out by the British Ministry of Reconstruction. It is just as much a part of the governmental plans toward the after-the-war building up of the nation as are other pamphlets in the same series on Housing, Commercial Forestry, and Raw Materials. In other words, in this great English effort for reconstruction the need of the kind of culture and training that is acquired through a classical education properly combined with scientific and practical courses is assumed and arguments adduced to that effect. From comparative statistics of students' success the conclusion is drawn that "for the all-round training of the citizen the claim of the classics to hold the premier place has not yet been shaken," and there is abundant testimony "to the value of a broad, humanistic training as a basis for work in quite other fields than the classics or literature." A broad, general scheme is presented; science and literature, the usual English branches and foreign languages, the technical and the cultural, should be combined, it is urged, in the earlier stages and a choice of thorough and sensible specialization provided for at the right stage of advance. Thus may best be obtained, it is held, the prime object, "the training of human beings in mind and character as citizens of a free country."

Another point of interest is that this official British document urges that "intellectual aristocracy" should not be confined to the well-to-do; that the working classes need an infusion of cultural and literary teaching; and it is claimed that there are signs that leaders in education for workmen recognize this and would welcome, as one of them says, "a redistribution of the opportunities for classical studies." And when the founder of the Workmen's Educational Association remarks that he hopes to see the day when an intellectual workman may enjoy his Homer in the original the author of the pamphlet refuses to consider that a fantastic ideal.

It is then, apparently, not because of a survival of tradition, but as a part of a new movement for reconstituting civilization and setting high standards that we find just now coming from three different quarters pleas for fair play for the classics.

ON CULTIVATING OUR PARENTS

THE admonishment of the Fifth Commandment is singularly tactful. It cannily refrains from enjoining obedience. The stark fact of abstract obedience to any one is repellent to every independent mind, whether that mind is five years old or fifty, while honoring has a securer foundation in human impulse. Honor is an attitude conspicuously exempt from responsibility to reform its object, whether that object is one's father or one's son. In our earliest acquaintance with them we had no difficulty in honoring our father and mother, for the simple reason that their personality then appeared to us so mysterious and so potent that we could do nothing else than respect it. The exhortation of the Fifth Commandment was therefore addressing itself, not to our infancy, but to our later age, when, having come to years of indiscretion, we should feel called upon to reeducate our parents, to bring the dear old fogies abreast of the times and make them over to suit our taste as once they felt it incumbent to make us over to suit theirs. Every one who has ever been sixteen and recovered from it knows that the Fifth Commandment perceived what was needed.

Even when one has safely emerged from the terrible teens one may still ponder with profit the only genial exhortation of the Decalogue. Perhaps even stern Moses desired folk to feel friendly toward their forebears. The word honor implies respect for the essential freedom that is the foundation of all friendship, and conspicuously of that intimacy between parents and children which, however we may gloze the fact, is actually so rarely existent. Against this spontaneity of comradeship two tendencies are potent. A dutiful child is prone to feel responsibility for his father and mother, and to have an impulse at anxious moments to put a skittish parent under some form of moral restraint. Indeed, even physical restraint is all too common, of course kindly not crudely administered, but none the less effective for being expressed in constant "don't, dears," rather than in bolts and bars. If we really honor our parents, we shall leave them free, even at a cost.

Another and more selfish impulse sometimes prevents our enjoying our fathers and mothers as much as we might;

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most of us cherish an inner resentment that our parents do not understand us better, forgetting the strain they are under—due to having known us all our lives—of having to merge into one astounding composite all the myriad selves we have been since first they met us. It may easily be that at five or at fifteen our personality was so offensive that no parent could be expected to perceive that we ever afterward outgrew our evil condition. Even when our parents' recollections of us have been agreeable, it is but natural that they should revert to the lifetime habit of regarding us as infantile. Perhaps also they are loth to relinquish their attitude of protection and of precept. We grow tragically self-sufficient with maturity. Sometimes the only way for a parent to pierce our engrossment is by pin stabs of fussiness. Sometimes the only way to reach us is to irritate us, but this is only when we ourselves have locked the doors of intimacy so tight that love has no language of admittance except nagging.

The fact is, parents are often worth a child's cultivating even when that child is grown up. Parents, however, are extremely elusive in friendship. A child must be patient, not precipitate. Parents often have rare confidences to make, but in order to receive these sons and daughters have to be themselves of rare imaginativeness. Margaret Ogilvie had a son to whom she appeared eternally a girl, but not many sons have Barrie's imagination, and so not many sons have such maternal companionship to remember as he commemorates in his life of his mother. It is more incumbent on the young to understand the old than on the old to understand the young, for the old are heavy with experience, and experience tends to stultify the imagination by its pain and poignancy. If you really want to get at a parent, you should endeavor to make him comfortable in your presence, so that wisdom, hesitant and shy if you are young and arrogant, will come forth from him confidently. Sometimes a parent's thoughts are very different from what we had supposed, but the best way of eliciting them is by submitting to the old habit that controls their utterance, the old habit of thinking us little children.

A recent story is built on the poignant thesis that the best thing one can do for a parent is never to let him know he has grown old, even though his over-confidence lead to peril of life and limb. The author puts into a daughter's mouth words that few of us would have the courage to embody in our treatment of our parents. Anxious coddling is an insult, she maintains: "If all we can do for them is just to keep their poor old rusting machinery oiled and working—at whatever cost to pride and manhood and usefulness—if that's the price they have to pay for just keeping alive, is it worth the cost? What do a few years more or less matter so long as one is living to the very end?"

The essence of comradeship is letting others have their adventure at whatever cost to us or to them; for parents this means letting people have their adventure from the beginning; for children, letting people have it to the end. All of us have had to be children, many of us have had to be parents. The best way of getting even with the grim necessity is, if a parent, to stop being one as early as possible, and if a child, to remain one as long as possible.

SHOULD THE PEACE TREATY BE RATIFIED?[1]

A GROUP OF LETTERS PRO AND CON

I

I HAVE read the editorial in the June 25 Outlook on "The Daylight Saving Rider" with interest and absolute approval.

But what puzzles me now is how you can advocate the acceptance of the rider (League of Nations) on the Peace Treaty. Surely a rider is a rider whether it is attached to the Agricultural Bill or to the Peace Treaty; both are employed for the same purpose—to slip something over on the people that will not bear the "acid test."

To my mind, the use of the rider device is just as reprehensible for a Peace Commissioner as it is for a Senator. Especially objectionable is the rider conceived by a Peace Commissioner who was repudiated at the last election; who went abroad at a critical time on his own authority against the wishes of the majority of the people; who delayed peace, and was only able to carry out his threat to weave his rider into the Peace Treaty by giving up vital rights and privileges of the American people.

It seems to me that if this rider passes the American people will have indeed lost "to a measurable degree the principle of self-government and to [have] substitute[d] oligarchy."

(Mrs.) James D. Davis.

Tionesta, Pennsylvania, July 7, 1919.

II

I find myself unable to resist the temptation to criticise The Outlook for its lack of consistency regarding legislation by rider. If there is any one thing that you have persistently condemned it is this, and I had always supposed that your criticisms were a matter of principle; but I have been brought to a questioning attitude on this point by your recent course. If the repeal of the Daylight Saving Law by making it a rider on another bill is a thing to be condemned on principle, on the theory that a matter of this importance ought to stand or fall on its merits, how can you reconcile yourselves to the support of the League of Nations as a rider on the Peace Treaty? Why shouldn't it, too, stand or fall on its merits? The very obvious answer is that if it were to be submitted to the Senate for ratification, in accordance with the plain intent of the Constitution, it would fail, and so the President in the carrying out of his threat has so intertwined it with the Peace Treaty as virtually to force the Senate to approve something that it disapproves or to disapprove something that it approves.

Your editorial "The League of Nations in the Senate," in The Outlook of June 25, is a virtual acknowledgment of this fact, and yet I have not seen a word of censure from you on this very evident attempt to deprive the Senate of its Constitutional right—a duty as well as a right—to pass on this momentous thing on its merits. What a chance you are missing for a ringing editorial asserting your adherence to the anti-rider principle, even though it might result in the defeat of something that you favor, for I can hardly bring myself to believe that you want the League of Nations established by this most transparent chicanery—or do you?

I wouldn't want my own position misunderstood. I believe that there is more than a mere bit of humor in dubbing the thing "the League of Hallucinations." I believe it to be a very accurate naming of it. I want to see it defeated in the Senate, but I am perfectly ready to "take my medicine" if the Senate can be brought to ratify on a fair and square test, but this test can't be had as the case now stands.

Just now I am especially interested to know if your opposition to legislation by rider applies only to the things that you are opposed to. There may be a touch of raillery in this letter, but I seriously think that you are in a very indefensible position. May I add that I think the repeal of the Daylight Saving Law was a serious mistake, however it may have been accomplished, and that I am as much opposed to rider legislation all the time as you are part of the time?

C. F. Hildreth.

Freeport, Illinois, July 8, 1919.

III

I have been a reader and a friend of The Outlook for a long time, because it has stood for genuine, practical Ameri-

[1] An editorial called out by these letters will be found on another page.—The Editors.

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canism of a high order. It was therefore a source of keen disappointment when you embraced internationalism. I have hoped that you would get back to the practical idealism of Theodore Roosevelt, but instead you have floundered from bad to worse, until you now have the temerity to say that because the American people are an adventurous people we should risk our birthright in a gamble with internationalism.

Such a statement is unworthy of you.

If we who believe in an unimpaired, uncompromised nationalism, who hold that our country should deal justly and honestly with all nations but take orders from none, are in the minority, it will be a pity, but nevertheless I must stand for the United States of America first, last, and always. I must not lend any support to any agency of the propaganda of internationalism.

I ask you to please cancel my subscription.

I will add just this: If the United States should be rushed into ratifying the present League of Nations Covenant by reason of the tricky tactics employed, it will *not* be by reason of the fact that the people of this country have deliberately renounced the Americanism of the past in favor of the new programme of World Socialism.

HARRY H. CALVIN.

League for Preservation of American Independence, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, July 2, 1919.

IV

In your issue of July 9, in the article entitled "Ratify the Treaty," you enumerate in the "simplest terms" what the Treaty will do—as you see it. In that enumeration appears no word of what happens to China. You rejoice in security against foreign despotism for Czechoslovakia and Poland and in the uniting of the civilized nations to protect each other and the people under their guardianship from future aggressions, but you say not one word of the part of the arrangement which violates all the important principles upon which the League of Nations is supposed to be founded (justice, honor, self-determination, and the rest), viz., the handing over of Shantung to Japan. To buy adherence to the League by one of the most infamous acts in history is a sad omen for the ability of the League to carry out its professed principles in the future. A lasting peace cannot be obtained through injustice. You must be aware of the facts in regard to China and the policy pursued toward her by Japan. If you are not, you can easily ascertain them. Such a book as "China and the World War," by W. R. Wheeler (Macmillan), will enlighten you. If you do already know the facts, it is inconceivable that a journal privileged to give out so many of Theodore Roosevelt's utterances can be untrue to his principles and gloss over the truth.

Those of us who hope for a real, effective League of Nations, but who believe that the end does *not* justify the means, are heartsick to see such a journal as yours lending itself, tacitly or outspokenly, to the support of an act in direct opposition to all we hope the League will do—an act without any foundation of honor or justice.

SIDNEY L. LASELL.

Siasconset, Nantucket, Massachusetts, July 13, 1919.

V

I have taken The Outlook for a number of years. I am an out-and-out Republican, but I think and trust that I am one in the broader sense. I have heretofore looked to The Outlook as being, if not a Republican, a patriot first and a partisan afterwards. An American patriot, in my conception, is one who has the privilege and the duty of thinking.

But The Outlook, apparently, no longer expects its readers to think. So it would appear to be a rather dangerous journal for those to read who won't think. I refer to your article of July 16 on "The Tactical Blunder of the Republicans."

In the suggestion contained in the second paragraph of this article you say, "We are tired of fighting and appeals to force." This looks very pretty on paper, but does The Outlook really believe it? If we really are, won't we be just as tired, forsooth, after an opportunity to contemplate as we are now? And if we really are and want a change, won't we see that we get it *after* contemplation? Some of us doubt, when we look back over history, that the world *is* tired of fighting and appeals to force. Some of us think that, though it says it is, it really likes them—which is perhaps why we fear that the League of Nations is but a scrap of paper. Writing down and subscribing to our pretense won't purge us of the sin.

You call the League an "experiment," and yet you ask your readers to be sure they get this experiment, with something rather vital to Americans, even though they may later be sorry.

Again, what has The Outlook come to that it would deny, as it does in the suggestion of the sixth paragraph of this article, the right of every American citizen to think and act through his Constitutional representatives in crises such as the present? The Constitution, as you say, perhaps has its defects; but it is at least true that the people by their own choice—that is, by *all* their representatives—put them there.

The Outlook is becoming quite Wilsonesque in speciousness. Shall we, the Republicans, take this step, this "experiment," just to be sure that the Democrats shall not have the chance to compound the wrong which, through not taking thought, we may find, too late, it contains?

At least The Outlook might have had the delicacy, I think, not to parallel this article with the one bearing the titular illustration of a tablet "In Memory of Theodore Roosevelt—The American."

I should say that The Outlook needs to clean house.

JOHN W. STEWARD.

Paterson, New Jersey, July 18, 1919.

VI

I want to congratulate you on the editorial "The Tactical Blunder of the Republicans," on page 425 of The Outlook for July 16. I am satisfied that the majority of the people of this country feel, first, that it is absolutely not a partisan question, and, second, that the League of Nations should be adopted as it stands, to be later corrected and amended as may be found necessary.

In one of his recent speeches Lloyd George made the statement that "had there been a League of Nations in 1914 the great war never would have occurred," and he was right about it. I believe also that the majority of the people are in favor of the tripartite treaty of Great Britain, France, and the United States for the protection and defense of France in the event of an unprovoked attack on her by Germany.

L. B. YAPLE.

Chillicothe, Ohio, July 17, 1919.

VII

Your editorial "Ratify the Treaty," in your July 9 number, is one of the best, if not the best, on the subject.

You say, however, that it would have been wise if the President had followed McKinley's wise course in consulting with the Senators.

I would refer you to page 374 of "The Education of Henry Adams." John Hay writes: "I shall see all my treaties slaughtered one by one, by the thirty-four per cent of strikers and kickers."

On page 394, speaking of a treaty which ought to be ratified in twenty-four hours: "The Senate wasted six weeks on this one and ratified it with one vote to spare," etc. He says further: "They [the Senate] will reject any treaty on any subject with England. I doubt if they would accept any treaty of consequence with Russia or Germany," and winds up this paragraph: "Is it worth while for me to keep up this useless labor?"

While Willoughby recognizes the fact that the Senate can be called in while negotiations are in practice, he also recognizes the fact that it is not done as a rule. When the President did consult, it was in the matter of *local* treaties, if I may so call them—those with the Indians, etc. But not with a complicated treaty such as the one now being acted upon.

Imagine what would have happened if he had associated with him some of the strikers and kickers referred to by Hay in the pages I refer you to.

I do not recall just now where, but either Moore or Willoughby refers to the fact that Presidents are loth to associate with them in the negotiation of treaties Senators of the opposite political faith, because of the inconvenience of the same.

If McKinley and Roosevelt were beset by a Senate of their own party, what can be expected from a Senate opposed in politics and "striking" for political advantage?

CHARLES S. BRAND.

New York City, July 17, 1919.

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JAPAN'S GAINS FROM THE WAR

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE BY SYDNEY GREENBIE

IT took Japan several days to reconcile herself to the armistice. Previously, every rumor of peace brought about a slump in the stock market. Yet so certain was industry that the war would go on indefinitely that no abatement in its activities could be felt. So when November 11 came it took a little sarcasm from the foreign press to stir Japan to a show of some satisfaction. For a couple of days only foreign houses displayed flags in jubilation. Then Japan recalled that she too was an Ally and the various Chambers of Commerce threw all "bearing" aside and brought out their flags, *saki*, and geishas, in riotous joviality. Officialism donated unto itself a banquet upon the public recreation grounds to which only officials and a few representative foreigners were invited. And after they ate all there was to eat and drank all there was to drink and played with all the geishas there were to play with (wives are never invited) they left the grounds for the common people to swarm about the remnants. Thus the East thought it had manifested its pleasure that the world had been made safe for democracy.

Why this hesitation? Because Japan was not really in the war. No country in the world has gained more and suffered less than Japan. She gained materially and she gained socially. At this time, when the nations are balancing their accounts, it is well for us to give a little summary of Japan's profit and loss from the war.

I will not dwell on the acquisition of the Marshall Islands, which lie so conveniently between the Hawaiian group and the Philippines, and not inconveniently distant from the Southern Hemisphere. I will leave Shantung to speak for itself, if its voice has not already been silenced, as was that of Korea. I will limit myself to the question of legitimate gains (if war profits can be regarded as such) to which Japan is as much entitled as any other individual or group which supplies the materials of warfare and to such social gains as can be directly traced to the war.

First, then, come the material gains. Of these Kobe is perhaps the best example. No port in the Far East has come up so stridently as did Kobe during the war. Were it not for the silk trade, Yokohama would have completely fallen out of the race behind Kobe. Now this is significant. Yokohama lies near the capital (Tokyo), and will always be a distributing center for the Empire. Commercially and geographically, however, Japan has become the center of the business of the Pacific. During the war Japan's exports increased so tremendously that a port more on the direct highway of the world's trade was necessary. As such none was more suitable than Kobe, and it rose to the situation. Where up to the outbreak of the war Kobe's foreign settlement (where all the export and import trade is handled) was largely under the control of foreigners, to-day the Japanese have well-nigh ousted them. All the desirable business sites have been bought over by Japanese *narikin*[1] establishments at enormous prices, in many cases the Government giving every possible financial support to natives. One foreigner disposed of a piece of property which cost him about $12,000 for $225,000. And to-day splendid modern structures crowd the former settlement—the pride of the Japanese.

Industrially, Japan has simply been seething with activity. No contract was ever turned aside; it was easy enough to fail to supply the material afterwards. Scandals in commerical circles were rife. Whereas other countries had to submit quietly to innumerable embargoes that England and America found necessary to impose on the export of their materials, Japan always found some way of having them loosened for her sake. When negotiations were under way for the construction of merchantmen, Japan so prepared her plans that, under whatever circumstances, she would come out with from 175,000 to 450,000 tons of shipping ahead of her pre-war situation, while supplying the Allies with her old discarded types of vessels. She is now the mistress of the Pacific.

Of all this activity, Kobe was the center. From my house, at the other end of the city, I could hear the sound of the pneumatic hammers far after midnight. Four years ago Kobe was a promise; to-day its dockyards, its steel mills, its steamers, give it the appearance of a city of tremendous size. Its population has reached nearly 600,000, and it is the fifth largest city in Japan. Houses are as scarce as they are in New York. Smoke-stacks darken the sky with streams of smoke. And all because a war broke out in Europe, twelve thousand miles away.

So great was the increase in trade and business in all Japan that for two years the railways and telegraphs and post office have been rendered virtually helpless. Telegrams could be delivered much more quickly if sent by train and letters with more certainty if sent by special messenger. The extent of inefficiency in these various branches of service would form the basis for an article in itself. Yet with all the prosperity salaries in Government departments still ranged from $6 to $50 a month. Only two per cent of the people earn more than $1,000 a year. In place of increase in salaries the Government offered marks of distinction and honor, expecting that good subjects would rejoice over small favors.

Yet the war intensified social conditions markedly. It made *narikin* of coolies who in another generation will be seeking vacancies in the House of Peers. It has drawn the outcasts from their isolation into industrialism and forced them upon the social consciousness in unprecedented ways. It has increased the cost, though it has not yet raised the standard, of living. On an average, Japan still has more poverty and suffering and absence of individual development than most other civilized countries. But the conditions under war have made the average Japanese less contented with mere rice and *daikon* (a vegetable shaped like a radish, pickled, and with a strong, unpleasant odor). He has seen how his neighbor in a couple of years became a rich man. Though the masses are much poorer than they ever were, a very few have obtained great wealth. While the war brought the peoples of Europe and America down to a basis of necessity, curtailing all luxuries, for many in Japan it meant the reverse—the shunning of simple living. Of that they had had more than their share.

Another source of gain to Japan has been in knowledge of military science. She has been able to look on and learn at a loss of only some two thousand men. That is a gain which may sooner or later have to be put in the debit column.

Some of the monetary gains are no less doubtful. It is felt in Japan that those who secured these material advantages are doing little to retain them. They have not placed either themselves or their country on a firm trade basis, having sought immediate progress more than a good reputation for business ethics. And that is a definite loss to Japan which some of its people are viewing with alarm.

Let us now turn to the social gains. What emotional, political, moral, and intellectual advantage has Japan which she did not have before the war? Emotionally there has been but a slight awakening. Sympathy with the wronged, with the suffering, has touched her but little. Politically there has been considerable discussion of democracy, but mighty little of its real significance has penetrated the crust of imperialism. You hear among the students in the higher schools (of which I was an instructor) considerable talk about democracy, and they have even gone to the point of holding demonstrations for the extension of the franchise. But the true meaning of democracy is not understood. Even the leaders in that vanguard naïvely advance a vague statement said to have been made by the first Emperor, Jimmu Tenno (who is largely wrapped in myth), about how much his rule depended upon the people, as proof that from time immemorial the basic principles of their government have been democratic.

Intellectually and morally Japan has learned that education and honest business are national assets. As the result of

[1] The word *narikin* can be translated by our parvenu. It comes from the Japanese chess and is used when one of the pawns is jumped across the board. It is much more than a man who has just become rich—one who has made a bound for riches.

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the increase in foreign trade, she has found it necessary greatly to increase her educational facilities. Commercial schools are being raised to the status of universities and the whole educational administration is undergoing considerable changes. But, unfortunately, morally Japan has not applied, so far, the principles she has taught her young men. The breaking of contracts, the passing off of material inferior to that agreed upon, would form a chapter in a study of Japan by no means to her credit.

One of the most satisfactory gains from an Occidental point of view has been that Japan has been forced to think outwardly on international affairs. She looked abroad, for instance, and saw the extent to which women helped win the war, and was somewhat alarmed. Japan realized that should her women be placed in the same position as were the women of the West it would not go well with the land. The condition of woman may, in consequence, some day be improved. There is a dim light of hope. These social gains are, however, insignificant in comparison with the monetary gains.

There is one great weakness in modern Japan which leaves all her gains—social and material—on an unstable foundation. Unfortunately, consciousness of this danger is almost wholly lacking. Whatever gains may be accredited to Japan in any sense cannot compensate her for the isolation in which she is left as the only great autocracy still standing in the world.

WHY CHINA REFUSED TO SIGN

AN INTERVIEW ON THE SHANTUNG PROVISION OF THE TREATY WITH WU CHAO-CHU BY JESSE WILLIS JEFFERIS

WU CHAO-CHU, delegate to the Peace Conference from the Constitutionalist Government of China, and son of Wu Ting-fang, twice Ambassador to the United States, recently passed through New York on his way to Washington. When asked why China refused to sign the peace treaty, Wu Chao-chu responded as follows:

"While the other Great Powers were engaged in the war with Germany Japan took advantage of the situation to press her Twenty-one Demands, which aimed at the political and economic domination of China.

"The provisions relating to Shantung, which the Chinese Government signed with Japan under duress, were that China should agree to any arrangements which Japan might thereafter make regarding the disposition of German rights in the Shantung Province; that the Japanese Government would restore Kiaochau to China, *providing* Japan be granted an exclusive concession to be designated later, and also that Japan should have the option of building a new railway in Shantung.

"The 'exclusive concession' was no less than the port of Tsingtao, situated in the Bay of Kiaochau. This port was seized by the German Government in 1897, because of the killing of two German missionaries in China, and in March, 1898, the Manchu Government was forced to conclude a lease with Germany, giving her control of the port for a period of ninety-nine years. This treaty, forged by the mailed fist of the German Junkers, also provided for the passage of German troops in a zone around the Bay of Kiaochau and the granting of railway and mining rights in the province of Shantung.

"The port of Tsingtao is a strategic and commercial stronghold of vital importance to the safety and economic life of China. It has a fine harbor, excellent docks, and strong fortresses, upon which the German Government has spent millions. It is also a popular summer resort. According to present plans, Japan intends to put into the concession the important features of the port and return to China the bathing beach and a few hotels.

"Thus Japan has secured control of the gateway to Shantung Province, with an area of 36,000 square miles and a population of 38,000,000. It is an integral part of China and has been so for centuries. It is also the birthplace of Chinese civilization, for here Confucius was born.

"When in 1917 America broke off diplomatic relations with Germany, she invited all neutrals to do likewise, in order to show the world's unanimous disapproval of German militarism. When China received this invitation, she responded immediately, and was the first of the neutrals thus to take action. Later China declared war upon Germany and at the same time announced that all treaties made with her enemies were thereby abrogated. The Powers at war with Germany thereupon sent notes of congratulation to China, indorsing her attitude, which amounted to an express recognition of the fact that the treaty granting Germany rights in the Shantung Province was canceled, and that these rights automatically reverted to China.

"When the Peace Conference opened, it soon became evident that Japan had a hold upon the delegates, the nature of which did not appear upon the surface. Later it was discovered that this was nothing more nor less than the secret understandings entered into with Japan by the Governments of Great Britain, France, Italy, and Russia. They were arrived at after China had sent a note to Germany threatening to break off diplomatic relations unless she relinquished submarine warfare. It was promised Japan that her claims to the Shantung Province would be supported at the Peace Conference, provided that she would use her influence to compel China to declare war against Germany. But the bitter irony of the situation was that Japan had continually brought pressure to bear upon China to *prevent* her entering the war against Germany.

"Until the Fiume incident, when the Italian delegates withdrew from the Conference, America remained China's best friend; but the added danger that Japan might withdraw from the Conference if her demands were not granted threatened the establishment of the League of Nations. Certain French newspapers then announced that Japan might follow the example of Italy. If these countries should withdraw from the Peace Conference because of the opposition of President Wilson to their demands, who would be responsible for the failure of the League of Nations? No matter how moral or legal China's claims might be at the Conference, the Powers felt bound to fulfill their secret understandings with Japan, in spite of the fact that Japan's Twenty-one Demands upon China were made under duress and wholly oblivious of the fact that Germany had no rights in the Shantung Province to which Japan or any other country could lawfully succeed. And so America gave way and the so-called rights of Germany in Shantung were transferred to Japan.

"Later the Chinese delegates were informed that all former German rights were to be given over to Japan, unconditionally, and this agreement the Chinese delegates were asked to sign. Whereupon they protested, first orally, and subsequently in writing.

"It was announced that Japan had agreed with the Powers that Shantung would later be returned to China; but no definite time was mentioned when Japanese control should end. It is interesting to note here that Japan promises to return to China *sovereign* rights in Shantung, although Germany never asserted any rights of sovereignty.

"The Chinese delegates agreed to sign the Treaty with Germany, subject to a reservation of the three articles relating to Shantung. But they were told that they must sign without reservations. The position of the delegates was a most delicate one. Not to sign would be an admission to the world that the Allies were divided, thus strengthening the cause of the common enemy—Germany. To sign meant the betrayal of the whole Chinese nation, that is arrayed unanimously against any such step.

"In obedience to the will of my peo-

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ple the Chinese delegates refused to sign, so that a state of war still exists between China and Germany, making necessary the conclusion of a separate treaty of peace.

"From her experience at the Peace Table China has learned several important lessons. First, she knows that America is her stanch and sincere friend, having championed China's rights, and at last giving way only when the possible withdrawal of both Italy and Japan menaced the League of Nations. With the final result the American delegation was as much disappointed as the Chinese.

"China is well known for her pacific settlements of disputes, despising the thought of being compelled to resort to barbarous methods of war, such as have been exemplified by the horrors of German militarism. But she also realizes that the millennium has certainly not yet come —the age of peace when right shall triumph over might."

METHODISM'S GREAT MISSIONARY CENTENNIAL

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE FROM CHARLES STELZLE

SUPERLATIVES alone can do justice to the Centenary Celebration of American Methodism, just closed in Columbus, where for nearly a month not only the followers of John Wesley but those who owe allegiance to other great leaders of Protestantism thronged the Ohio State Fair Grounds, which cover over one hundred acres.

One of the chief reasons why the Celebration was held in Columbus was because this is the center of American Methodism. The Methodist Church, North and South, was responsible for this enterprise—the first time that these two great churches have got together on a really comprehensive programme, and it was noted that the attendance was very largely from the South.

The Celebration cost Methodism a million dollars; it was attended by a million people; it was held, in part, to celebrate the raising of one hundred and sixty million dollars for missions. It was a jubilee engaged in with an abandon that for once made the world understand that the Church could do a big thing in a big way.

Eight great buildings housed exhibits from every part of the world. Nearly twenty thousand people served as "stewards" and other helpers during the Celebration. The music was rendered by thousands of singers, and there were bands and orchestras and quartettes and soloists of National reputation.

The pageant "The Wayfarer," written by Dr. J. E. Crowther, of the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Seattle, Washington, was one of the greatest productions of its kind ever seen in this country. Every night the great Coliseum, which seats about seven thousand people, was packed and thousands were turned away. Reserved seat tickets could scarcely be purchased from their owners at any price. Most extravagant offers were made to the management by theatrical producers to repeat the pageant in the big cities of this country. At least one fact was demonstrated in the popularity of the pageant—namely, that the masses of people will go to see and hear a production which is distinctly religious in character and which has practically none of the objectionable elements which theatrical managers say the public is demanding.

On the other hand, it is unquestionably true that many prominent leaders of Methodism who were opposed to the theater saw in "The Wayfayer" a remarkable opportunity for using the drama for the teaching of great religious doctrines.

The costumes and scenic effects were designed by Livingston Platt, of New York, and the beautiful combinations of colors, not only in this regard, but in the general lighting effects, for which Laurence H. Rich was responsible, made a profound impression upon the audiences.

World travelers who were present at the Celebration declared that the exhibits were of so high a character and were so ably presented by the stewards and the hundreds of lecturers as to make it possible for one to obtain a liberal education in the religions and general customs of the people in almost every part of the world.

The managers of the Celebration felt that this alone justified the expenditure of a million dollars for the production of the Celebration's features. It will now be much easier to talk missions to Methodists.

In a most interesting fashion the problems of American life were presented. A New York East Side street was shown and an attempt was made to vivify the every-day life of the tenement dwellers.

A great deal of attention was given to the industrial problem, not only in the exhibits but in the life plays and demonstrations, of which there were scores in the various buildings.

For example, the Bolsheviki and the professional labor agitators called a "strike" of "workingmen," and in the mass-meetings which they held an opportunity was given to present the other side of the question in open forum discussions.

This was one of the most effective parts of the programme presented at the Celebration. The influence of the centenary upon thousands of workers who took part in many ways was invaluable, and this also would have justified the expenditure of the great sum required to put on the Celebration.

The five hundred college men and women who spent a month serving as stewards got a new idea of what the work of the Church actually means—to say nothing about the thousands of other workers who were not college students.

The Church has learned as never before the value of publicity in pushing its work. No other single enterprise of the Protestant Church in all of its history obtained as much publicity as did the Centenary Celebration. High-grade "graphics" dealing with the great problems and work of the Church were widely used. A supplement to the "Ohio State Journal" was issued daily dealing exclusively with the Celebration and its programme. Very carefully edited and selected literature was widely distributed.

Never again will a religious body engage in a great campaign without securing the co-operation of the newspapers and other periodicals. Money was also spent for newspaper advertising, to say nothing about immense posters which were freely used throughout the State.

It must not be imagined that this Centenary Celebration was merely a glorified camp-meeting or an old-fashioned missionary concert. There were enough of these elements to satisfy the most devout Christian, for the devotional and evangelistic meetings were given great prominence; but the Celebration was principally educational in character.

There were twenty-four great days, every one a feature day, with men of National and in many cases international prominence speaking to immense audiences.

The Minute Men who took so splendid a part in the raising of the Methodist millions helped to make Minute Men Day a great success by their fine enthusiasm.

On July 1—the day that the country went dry—the big guns of prohibition held a field day the like of which has never been seen.

Most of the great denominational bodies sent their executives to the Celebration to study it with the view of utilizing in their own work such features as could be adapted to their own programmes, and it is altogether likely that the Interchurch World Movement, which will soon launch what will probably be the greatest campaign in the history of the Church, will conduct a somewhat similar enterprise on its own account.

The Director-General of the Centenary Celebration was S. Earl Taylor, who is also at the head of the Interchurch World Movement.

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COMES THE HIRED MAN

BY JOHN S. PARDEE

JUDGE BEASLEY doesn't know what we are coming to. Used to be so that a man who was in business ran it. The Springfield Mercantile Company was Philetus Crawford. He ran it. The Springfield Manufacturing Company was Zenas Potter. Every one knew where to find him. The First National was Henry Grierson's bank. He managed it—read every letter that came in, wrote every letter that went out, and wrote them all in his own hand. Thomas Brown and S. T. Wilcox owned the dry-goods store. And they ran it. They created the business, they financed it, bought the goods and sold them, knew where everything was on the shelf, and how much every customer owed, and what every one in the store was doing every minute. All dead or moved to California. Business in Springfield isn't what it used to be. Not a substantial concern left that is conducted by its owners. It's all done by hired men.

The Brown & Wilcox Company, at Main and Second Street, is still the biggest store in town—bigger and brighter and busier than when Thomas Brown sat in the office and S. T. Wilcox busied himself on the floor. Years ago, when the old gentlemen began to feel comfortable, they eased themselves into a corporation, keeping a general oversight but turning the active management over to younger men.

Now their estates hold a controlling interest and the names of Brown and Wilcox appear only in the corporate title. Their heirs are represented by A. G. Simcoe, who was attorney for the partners, but his knowledge of the business begins and ends with the annual meeting. Even their understudies have vanished. R. B. Farson, who got his training under them, is still president of the company, but since he graduated into the First National he hardly looks into the store more than once a month. Carter, vice-president and general manager, is an importation. Phillips, assistant manager, and Wright, sales manager, were unknown youngsters in the days of Brown and Wilcox. Between them the present managers own about ten per cent of the stock. As Judge Beasley says, the owners never come near the store. The business is supervised by a banker and a lawyer; it is run by hired men.

Across Main Street is the First National Bank, mostly owned by estates. Some of its dividend checks go to California and some to New York. A lawyer represents the Grierson heirs. Farson, who is cashier and practically manager, has ten thousand of the stock in a million-dollar capital. The live directors are young business men who furnish connections more than capital.

Over on Front Street is the Springfield Mercantile Company, originally Philetus Crawford, wholesale groceries and provisions, lime, salt, and sundries. When he died, the company brought Bates back to be general manager. Bates, who formerly traveled for the company, was making good in Centerville, where Old Man Crawford staked him to a business. The company fixed him out with an attractive salary and a small interest to be paid for from the earnings. The owners give him a free hand. Another business owned largely by estates and run by hired men.

Beyond the tracks is the Springfield Manufacturing Company. Owned by estates—except the bonds which Zenas Potter willed to Bethany College and a block of the preferred held by Dr. Vernon, who married into the family. The business is owned by widows and orphans, and is run by hired men.

So all through Springfield, so in a thousand Springfields. People who own business do not run it; people who run business do not own it. Just hired men.

For that matter, look at the railways, and Standard Oil, and United States Steel. Nobody in particular owns them. The directors, who are elected by proxies, have blocks of stock which are conspicuously large only among a swarm of infinitesimals. Ownership is impersonal; the business is run by hired men.

Notwithstanding Judge Beasley's quavering comment, business has fared well under hired management. Thomas Brown and S. T. Wilcox never dreamed what a hive the Brown & Wilcox Company would become. It does more business, turns its stock quicker, carries more lines, and displays a livelier assortment. What do you suppose the fine old men who founded the First National would say if they saw the way the bank goes after business? In Grierson's day one had to be introduced by unimpeachable sponsors before he was privileged to open an account. Now Tim Collins's wife pays her monthly bills by check, Tony Caprelli banks the daily proceeds of his peanut sales, and little Annie Franklin enters unabashed to deposit her handful of pennies. A department for women, a department for savings, a subdepartment for children, a window for bonds, a booth for War Savings—what would Henry Grierson say?

Remember how Old Man Crawford used to stand in his shirt-sleeves in the Mercantile Company's doorway? Remember what a tight grip Zenas Potter kept on the Manufacturing Company? Bates in the wholesale house and Kelly in the factory start more new things in a week than their revered predecessors would have stood for in a lifetime.

So all through Springfield, so in a thousand Springfields—closer buying, brisker selling, livelier collections. The abdication of the owner in favor of the hired man lets more vim into business than it loses.

In the good old days when a man's business was his own, its limit was the amount of capital he could swing and the force he could swing it with. Its life was what its maker gave it. When he lost his grip, dry rot set in; when he died, it was sold or wound up. A strong individuality might be projected posthumously, as when Peter Wilkins's business was carried on by Jenkins & Fordyce, successors to Peter Wilkins, or when T. Perry & Sons was continued by the boys. But business seldom survived beyond the first successor or the second generation.

Corporate methods have changed business from a hardy annual to a perennial growth. In the beginning the corporation was merely the financial background for a man—Grierson was the bank, Crawford was the Mercantile Company, Potter was the Manufacturing Company. But the corporation has developed from a device into a creature with strength of its own, ways of its own, a spirit its own. Several of our Springfield corporations are not only stronger than any one man's capital, more vigorous than any one man's energy, but actually more human than the personalities of Grierson and Potter and Crawford. The loyalty to the house in these modern concerns is more vivid than the boys ever felt who worked for the old masters.

As in Springfield, so in a thousand Springfields. The reign of the hired man under impersonal ownership is amply vindicated.

Management by hired men is not the whole story of the changing order. In the veteran days a business man was king of his domain. He fixed hours and wages and made the rules. It shocked him when his commoners asserted their obstreperous way. Teaching them their place was part of his business duty. There is no doubt at all that labor troubles hastened Zenas Potter's end. It was the unions. He could have stood it to wrestle with his own crew, though dictation from men who worked by the day was simply monstrous. But the interference of outsiders was more than he could stand. Never mind whether the terms were easily met or oppressive; it was working under the union scale not his scale, union hours not his hours, union conditions not his conditions, that broke his sturdy spirit.

That is all a matter of course to the new generation of shop managers. Kelly, who sits in Zenas Potter's office, takes the unions as part of the natural order. In fact, when the grievance committee calls his first move is to draw his old union card from his wallet. He would have them remember that he came up from the ranks and has not forgotten how things look to the man at the bench. But Kelly has a new set of troubles.

He burst into Al Simcoe's office the other day as red in the face as Zenas Potter in his purplest moments. "What do you suppose those darned fools want now?"

That's Al Simcoe, who is being initiated by his father, with some misgivings, into the management of the Potter estate. A. G. read law in an older lawyer's office; Al Simcoe went to college, where he acquired some curious notions. He recognized without explanation that "those darned fools" referred to the men who work for

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the Manufacturing Company. "Give it up," he said; "the earth perhaps?"

"They got that long ago," said Kelly. "It's the moon they're after now; they want to be represented on the Board of Directors." Just as Zenas Potter might have said: "They want to tell me how to run my business, dictating what wages I shall give them and how many hours a day the shop shall run. Of all the—"

Kelly felt just like that.

"They're crazy," went on Kelly. "It's all right for them to have a say about hours and wages and all that. I'm with them. But they've no call to interfere with the business." And Zenas Potter himself could not have spoken more reverently of "the business."

"Well," said Simcoe again, "they may be right at that. What's the harm? One workman on the Board would not be a majority, and I'm not sure but we could hold them better if one of them was on the inside. We've opened the books to them already, and the only trouble was we couldn't get them to see what the figures meant. Blest if I know—as long as they are bossing the ranch, anyhow, maybe they would do it more intelligently if they had some responsibility. Let's think it over."

And Kelly went away in amazement.

Perhaps that is the answer to Judge Beasley's perplexity — apoplexy more likely if it comes on him suddenly. It may be that in the business of the future the rank and file are going to join with ownership and management in giving the direction. In at least one instance it has been done. The owners of one of the largest retail stores in the United States have turned their business over to the employees. First the enforcement of discipline was given to committees, then the adjustment of grievances, and finally the buying and selling and the control of policies. Probably the conditions were extraordinary; perhaps the experiment would fail nine times out of ten. But at least in this one instance the hired men and women of all grades have had the whole say in the business and the business survived.

The British, who do things differently, are feeling their way toward a composite direction of industry. The faculties of ownership and management meet with labor representatives with equal voice in industrial councils which will compass the decision of large policies. It is a new parliament of capital and labor whose judgments are expected to be conclusive upon those who make the laws.

These are signs of the times. The man who works with tools wants to have a say about the business in which he works as a member, and not as a subject of the concern. As much as may be wholesome for the business he probably will get it.

The drawing together of owners, managers, and wage-workers is the hopeful sign. There are also portents. A man holds forth nightly on the curb in Second Street. His person is ill-favored and his talk is ill-flavored. His notion of a happier state is to suppress the owners and managers and let the workers below the rank of foreman run everything. His stock in trade is rancor and bitterness. His whole theme is discord. He lives in a distorted world and all he sees is tinged with madness. The disquieting sign is that the madman gets a hearing and leaves a wake of sullen discontent among fellows of steadier minds.

As in Springfield, so in a thousand Springfields. The times are so out of joint that sometimes it seems as though unless the business world can find a way to set things right things will go all wrong—as Russia fell in total confusion.

Americans will not easily believe that this world is going to be run even for a season by men whose minds are unhinged. America has a footing which Russia lacked. In our public affairs all sorts and conditions of men, according to their several abilities, have a fair chance to be heard. The unpleasant person on the curb in Second Street may point out disagreeable exceptions, but in the main it is the rule. So we have a right to believe that a people whose genius has carried them thus far will find a basis for democracy in business—that fair balance in which ownership, management, and labor will get due representation.

Dreadful as it may seem to Judge Beasley, the continuous process of democracy refuses to be stayed. The world, which is learning to do with public servants in place of kings, which is managing to get its work done under hired managers in place of masters, will find a way by industrial councils, by shop committees, and by other shifts to give full representation in the conduct of affairs to all who have part in them. Demands which would have been blasphemy to Zenas Potter, which are appalling to as modern a manager as Kelly, are scarcely perturbing to young Simcoe, a looker-on in business. To his mind, the new demand is merely an extension of the franchise.

There is a new voice in the world. At close range the air vibrates with the high notes—the strident protest of Judge Beasley against impending change, the voice of unreason shrieking on the curbstone. Standing a little farther off, one hears the dominant undertone. Confused murmurs swell into a steady note. It is the hired man, struggling to his feet, intent to have a say in all affairs of which his life is woven.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE KAISER

BY VERNON KELLOGG
OF THE AMERICAN RELIEF ADMINISTRATION

THERE seems to be much difference of opinion about trying the Kaiser for his crimes. Men of the law differ about the legality of such a proceeding; diplomats, about its advisability. Professors of political science discuss the form and organization of the German state and military authorities discuss the form and organization of the German army, to the end of determining where responsibility for the behavior of the state and army really lies. Von Bethmann Hollweg has asked that he be tried instead of the Kaiser, because he was responsible as Chancellor. Von Hindenburg asserts that as Chief of Staff he should be tried instead of the Kaiser, because he was head of the army. Both of them should be tried—they both had much authority and lent it to the commission of crime. But neither should be tried instead of the Kaiser—they never had that much authority. Ludendorff has not yet come forth with a declaration and offer like those of Bethmann Hollweg and Hindenburg; and before he finished he had more authority than either of them. If he does come forward, or if he can be dragged forward, by all means let him be tried, too; but even he is not a sufficient substitute for William Hohenzollern, the man who had the real authority and used it—the All Highest in command in actuality as well as in title and assumption.

Not that the Kaiser issued personally all orders that determined in detail the behavior of the German armies and navy or the German occupants of invaded territories, any more than any All Highest or generalissimo of any army issues personally all orders to his forces or people; any more than Haig or Pétain or Pershing, or Foch, over them all, did; or Lloyd George or Clemenceau or Wilson did. But no determination of German general policy or behavior was made without the knowledge and general consent—indeed, usually the formal and specific consent—of the Kaiser. And his personal authority and responsibility, his personal orders, were not limited to general matters; they descended to many matters of detail.

Who is the Chief of Staff of the German Army? He is the direct representative of the Kaiser in issuing commands to the armies. He issues commands to men of higher military title than himself. Von Falkenhayn, who succeeded von Moltke, gave orders to von Hindenburg and Mackensen when they were Field Marshals and he was but Lieutenant-General. He did this as direct personal representative of the All Highest Command, the Kaiser, who knew what orders he was issuing.

When the Great German Headquarters was at Charleville—which was from early in the war until von Hindenburg

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succeeded von Falkenhayn as Chief of Staff—the Kaiser and von Falkenhayn were continually together whenever the Kaiser came to Charleville. Von Falkenhayn was his mouthpiece. The Kaiser did not want to supersede von Falkenhayn; he had to, after the failure at Verdun, in order to meet the demands of the people for a popular hero. Von Hindenburg's winnings in the east had made him that popular hero, and the Kaiser, in order to bolster up his people and draw from them the needed further sacrifices, had to give up as his Chief of Staff a man he liked personally for one he disliked. And because this new Chief of Staff had as chief of his own staff a man of greater capacity, brutality, and ambition than himself, to wit, von Ludendorff, the Kaiser had to make a special position and title for him. So von Ludendorff became *Obergeneral Quartiermeister*, thus outranking the actual *General Quartiermeister*, von Freytag, another personal favorite of the Kaiser, who, instead of remaining at Great Headquarters, traveled about with the Kaiser in those continual flittings from point to point of victory—Kaiser victories, as they were called whenever they were big enough to be called anything.

It was common talk at Great Headquarters that the Kaiser knew about everything and had a hand in everything. For a long time many of the General Staff officers were very bitter because London was not bombarded by Zeppelins and airplanes. It could easily be done, they said; it would work havoc with London, would frighten the English people to the surrendering point, and if it killed a lot of women and children, well, it would serve the "damned English" only right—the English were always the "damned English," for if it had not been for them the war would have been over quickly. But the bombing could not be done because the Kaiser would not allow it. And when it was done it was because the Kaiser did allow it. Is this personal responsibility or not?

Governor-General von Bissing, German ruler of Belgium, was a personal appointee of the Kaiser, and was not responsible to General Staff or Berlin War Office or Foreign Office, but solely to the Kaiser. The things that happened in Belgium happened by order of a man responsible solely to the Kaiser. Immediately after the shooting of Miss Cavell and the outburst of indignation from the world von Bissing and his chief political adviser, von der Lancken, and the Military Governor of Brussels, von Sauberzweig, were summoned to Berlin to get a personal wigging from the Kaiser for their "diplomatic mistake." And immediately thereafter the other two women condemned to death by the same court martial at the same time with Miss Cavell for the same offense had their death sentences commuted to imprisonment for life. And soon after, by the Kaiser's personal instruction, another woman condemned to death at Liège enjoyed a similar respite. This is to the Kaiser's credit—to the credit of his diplomacy. But I am not trying to point out the Kaiser's credits or crimes—only his responsibility.

Soon after von Hindenburg was made Chief of Staff he and von Ludendorff made a hurried trip to the west front to see personally the situation there. Their previous personal knowledge of the war was of matters in the east. As they passed through Belgium they saw the idle Belgian workmen—idle because, with factories wrecked and machines sent to Germany or destroyed, there was no work for them to do except work for the Germans, which they would not do. When they reached the front, the new Chief of Staff and the *Obergeneral Quartiermeister* saw the need of more soldiers in the trenches in western Flanders and northern France. So when they got back to Berlin an order came to the Governor-General of Belgium to send Belgian men to Germany, who were to replace German workmen to be sent from the German war factories and coal mines to the west front. And the terrible deportations began.

The deportation of Belgians to Germany to be compelled to work there had been urged frequently before on Governor-General von Bissing by the military authorities; but he had always refused to issue the order. He believed that it would make too great difficulties for him in his quasi-civil administration of Belgium and interfere with his peculiar special mission of winning the Belgians over to Germany! But after von Hindenburg and von Ludendorff got back to Berlin, where the only authority over von Bissing resided, the order for the deportations issued from the reluctant Governor-General.

Now I am neither man of law nor diplomat, neither professor of political science nor military authority, and I have no competent opinion to express as to the legality or the diplomatic advisability of trying the Kaiser, nor as to the position and responsibility of the Kaiser in the German state as determined on a technical basis. But I have a very definite opinion as to the position and authority, and hence responsibility, with which the man William Hohenzollern was clothed before and during the war in the minds of the German military and civil authorities and the German people. They understood that he had all power and authority; and if the war had been a successful one he would have had all credit for beginning, carrying on, and winning it. If his vanity, unmorality, and blindness led him to be in many things a tool of shrewder, self-seeking, more unmoral men; or if such principal agents of his own choosing as von Ludendorff gained what may have been to him a humiliating degree of personal authority before the war was over, he can plead that at his trial in London. But never during the war until the days of the revolution was his assumption of authority, and hence responsibility, surrendered by any word of his or abased by action of his people. From beginning to end, from the Potsdam conference of July, 1914, to his abdication and confession of guilt—guilt to Belgium and France, guilt to his own people, and guilt to humanity by cowardly flight in November, 1918—William Hohenzollern assumed and, up to the measure of the possibilities of one man, actually had the responsibility for the crimes of Germany in connection with the great war. Wiertz painted the truth about Napoleon; Raemaekers has painted the truth about the Kaiser.

"PAPA YANK"

BY FULLERTON L. WALDO

AUTHOR OF "AMERICA AT THE FRONT"

IT was Sam Jolivet's job to drive one of the big American motor trucks, bulging with supplies, slam-banging through the choking white dust toward the front and back again; a child sat perked and smiling in the door of her village home with a white rabbit in her lap and a dancing light in her eyes, and waved her hand at him when the car went honking and rumbling past and cried, "*Vive l'Amérique!*" as mightily as she could.

Later she learned to call, "Good-night!" and was proud of herself because she had made a beginning of learning that queer and twisted American language; and these two words she shrilled by way of greeting whether it was high noon or twilight.

She was only fifteen years old, and yet she could and did cook a four-square meal one day for a band of nine hungry truck-drivers, and Sam Jolivet got the best part of the last pet chicken; and he did not know that the rabbit also went into the pot to help feed him and his mates.

While she lugged in the scalding soup with all the bones in it she smiled as bravely as though her heart were not breaking for the rabbit, and her grandmother, who had no teeth worth mentioning, smiled too, and her smile followed the little girl around the room like a spot of sunlight as the rabbit used to follow her.

One of the doughboys found somewhere about his person enough bad French to discover that the little girl was named Yvonne and that she lived alone with her grandmother. They had not much to live on but memories. The father had been killed in the trenches the winter before;

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the mother had died of consumption two years ere the war began. The grandmother, who was the mother's mother, could hardly hobble to Mass past Jeanne d'Arc's statue to lay her sorrow at the feet of the saints in the smile of the Blessed Virgin. But, seated on a bench before the house, filling her good ear with the gossip of the street, she could do a little sewing, which kept alive herself and the "*petite ange*" and the gibbering rats in the wall.

Sam Jolivet ate much and said little, and before the second drumstick was picked clean he had formed a resolution.

Yvonne was bright and good and very pretty. She deserved a chance. He had always wanted to adopt a French orphan, since he could not endow an entire asylum. Here was opportunity in sabots flopping at his door.

"What'd you do with an orphan, Sam?" one of his mates had laughed at him when first he broached the project in the large luxury of an off hour under the spruces of the Vosges. "Wanna marry her?"

"No," Sam answered, solemnly. "I got a little money saved up, and I'd take some of that, and put most of my pay with it, because there's nobody at home it needs to go to, and I'd see that she had a good education at a convent school in Montreal I know about and some nice clothes to wear. I'm never going to marry. I never in my life made enough to support a family, and I've seen and I've known what it is to be poor, and I wouldn't think it was right to sentence a family to slave and starve as I've had to do since I was a kid. I want to make her happy and I want her to be free."

Yvonne did not know what thoughts were passing through Sam's mind when he called her to him and praised her for the dinner.

She only knew that he was tall and wholesome, like the poplar trees along the roadway, where the birds had lived before the white dust behind the motor trucks smoked them out.

He smiled like the sun on the fields after rain. She had trusted him from the first quick flash of her childish intuition; she was sure America must be a very fine place if it was full of men like him.

After that Sam came back many times, and finally, in French that broke in pieces on his tongue like an army biscuit, he managed to ask the old grandmother if she would let this flower and lamp and staff of her sundown years be sent far, far away to the convent school in Montreal.

You can imagine what uphill, six-cylinder work it was to persuade the old woman, and how red and hot in the face Sam and his French became. The little girl herself was wild for the plan of "Papa Yank," as she had learned to call him. She was present during most of the long-drawn debate. The old woman and the child had been too close all their lives to have any secret from each other now. The slightest gap-toothed mumble of Grammère was clear as a bell to Yvonne.

After the reluctant consent had been won, it took tedious months of correspondence with the school in Montreal, and finally (to say nothing of notary and priest) the help of some hospital nurses who were opportunely returning to Canada; but at last the little Yvonne had safely crossed the sea in the charge of these good women, and was—her letters seemed to show—as happy as one long summer holiday in her new, strange life.

To "Papa Yank" she wrote lengthily, letters which at first needed the chaplain to unravel, and at last were couched in tolerable English. There were love and kisses every other line, and inquiries about grandmother many times repeated, and black grief when grandmother died of heart failure soon after New Year's Day. Sam usually had three or four of these letters in the pocket of his O. D. shirt over his heart, where he once kept the little white bag of tobacco with the dangling yellow string.

He would halt the other boys even in the middle of the road to share the news with them. Sometimes the Sisters wrote. "Sister Mary says she's the head of the class in arithmetic." "Sister Angelica says that she's as good as gold and never gives any trouble." Sam's infatuation for his ward became the by-word of his associates, but he took their raillery with the grin of imperturbable good humor. For the day had been named when he was to sail for America, and he vowed that his first leave in God's country would be spent in a flying trip to Montreal to see for himself how it was going with Yvonne.

Sam's parents, too, were dead; he was an only child. Yvonne was home to him. Yvonne was all. He painted pictures of her in his mind and forgot the dust and the thirst and the shells and the Germans and everything except the rule of the road, fondly imagining what Yvonne would grow to be. He made of her an image that outshone the princesses in the dimly remembered fairy tales. He saw her, crowned with light, ministering to the poor of a great city, moving among them with a fragrant laden basket on her arm, like a Salvation Army lass or a Red Cross girl or a Y hut worker—women who had given him a new idea of womanhood by their devoted work for the doughboys at the front. She would draw to herself helpless infancy and childish old age. She would be the natural confidante of all who were in trouble.

Some true, good man would seek her out and win her hand, and she would make a home for him. She would be a joyful mother of children. Her "Papa Yank" would come and find her the soul of her homestead, the center of an adoring family circle, the star in the sky of all her neighborhood.

These thoughts raced through his mind like the Lachine Rapids as his train bore him over the river to Montreal. His mind, indeed, was a jumble of sweet fancies for the years to be and dear realities for the months that lay behind. Still he wore the uniform in which she had seen him when they parted, and still there hung about his neck under the uniform the silver crucifix on its chain which she had taken from her own white throat and impulsively conferred on him. He thought more of it than if it had been the Congressional medal.

How beautiful she was! She knew it, too, the little minx! Her foster-father hoped that since she left France the adulation she was sure to have from strangers had not turned her head. He hoped she was the same at heart as when she swirled away in a rattle-trap car with the Canadian nurses, wiping her eyes and throwing him kisses. He wondered whether she spoke English well. He wondered—

Then at the convent school there was a sudden light as she to whom he had said farewell in France flashed into the room. He was almost bewildered. She must have seen on her walks in Montreal how other girls wore their hair, how they used their eyes, and what graceful tricks they played with their hands. A little girl said good-by to him—a young woman greeted him, demure, matured, pictorial.

"Yvonne!"

"Papa Yank!"

They kissed and clung to each other.

"Yvonne, are you happy here?"

"No, Papa Yank."

Yvonne drew back, and with soulful dark eyes regarded her benefactor, holding the ends of his sleeves in her slender fingers.

"Why, Yvonne?"

"I—muss—be—free!"

"What do you call freedom? Can't you do just about what you want here?"

"No, Papa Yank. Pray—read—sing—walk—sew. That is not free!" She stamped a tiny shoe he had paid for and pouted, with a defiant toss of her black ringlets.

"What else do you want, Yvonne?"

"A man—came here," she answered, slowly. "He is—my fazzer's bruzzer. He was—always—in New York for many years. One of ze nurses, I tell her about him while we are at sea. When we get to New York—she write to him. He come here. He have what you call ze show—ze burlesque show. He want me. He make me rich. A thousand dollar! He give me fine clothes. And diamants, he say. And pearls. I shall be great—and everybody say, 'Oh!' and kiss my hand—and my name is in ze electricity light—and in ze top of all ze newspapers. Oh, so fine! I shall so happy be when I go away from zis place."

Sam at first could not believe she meant what she said.

"You don't really mean to go away from here and leave all these people who have been so kind to you and—"

"You were ze one zat was kind. Zese not. Not *at* all. Zese take ze money you send for me, but zey care nozzing for me. I mus' go—out in ze world. Ze great, beautiful world!"

He talked with her for an hour, and another hour, and half an hour more; and he could not wake her from the glittering hallucination that held her. He

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told her all the perils that beset a young girl in the life that she proposed to live. He told her how hard and rough and cruel men would be. He pleaded and the tears came in his eyes, and she was touched, and she cried on the sleeve of his blouse as she sat with her hand in his. But he could not change her set intensity of purpose. The more she cried, the more determined she seemed to step into the lure outspread before her feet. Of course no harm could happen, she insisted. Was it not her uncle, the brother of her father?

"You must choose," Sam finally said, "between this man with his burlesque show and me."

"I—haf chosen," said the girl. "Long ago I chose. I will be free! Papa Yank, you will not kiss me good-by?"

But he was gone.

As the train rolled out on the international bridge Sam opened the window. He took from his neck the silver crucifix that she had given him. He held it in his hand a wistful moment, then he hurled it from the window, and the glint of it was like one last flicker of a dying hope of the heart ere it was lost in the ceaseless onrush of the river to the sea.

WHEN GERMANY YIELDED

PARIS CORRESPONDENCE FROM ELBERT FRANCIS BALDWIN

MONDAY evening, June 23, we had just sat down to dinner on the terrace of the Tavern du Panthéon, that excellent restaurant on the corner of the Boulevard Saint-Michel and the Rue Soufflot—the *rue* leading straight to the great dome of the Panthéon, only three blocks away. We had hardly begun dinner before a dozen great American camions came tearing up the Rue de Médicis (which enters the boulevard opposite our corner on the other side) and went at a great pace up the Boul' Mich'—the popular title given to the Boulevard Saint-Michel. Each camion had two great American flags waving, one from the front and one from the rear, and as the machines went at top speed we had a sight of at least twenty-four well-nigh continuous American flags standing out perfectly straight against the green of the Gardens of the Luxembourg, on the other side of the Rue de Médicis and the Boul' Mich'. Every camion was packed with our doughboys, who were gesticulating and shouting with voices already so raucous from much shouting that we could not hear what they said. But every one jumped at one conclusion—that Germany had finally accepted the Allies' conditions and was ready to sign the Treaty of Peace.

In a twinkling, and as if by magic, the streets were filled with Parisians cheering our boys—an eloquent and spontaneous proof of the relations between France and America.

In a few seconds we heard a heavy boom. It was the first gun from a battery over at the Invalides, a mile away, which had begun the traditional salvo of one hundred and one guns. Then the church bells began to mingle their grave voices with that of the cannon. But the automobile sirens had already begun their shrill cry, this time not announcing, as usual, imminent peril to pedestrians in the streets, but a peace at last conquered for every one.

Pedestrians, people in autos and buses and carriages, all seemed satisfied and almost every one bore a smile. In all cafés and restaurants there was joyous animation. Every one was impelled to get up and raise his glass and drain it to the honor of France, America, all the Allies. At our restaurant the slow-moving waiter, who a moment before had seemed a rather oldish person and weighted down with cares, suddenly became young, and with radiant face came briskly up bearing a tray full of something or other, and before putting it on the table exclaimed: "*Messieurs et Mesdames, il faut que je vous dise 'Dieu merci'! C'est fini. Il a duré presque cinq ans. Pensez-donc, maintenant enfin la paix!*" In each restaurant or café where there was an orchestra you can be mighty sure that the "Marseillaise" was played immediately, every one in the street, too, listening, erect, still, and with hat in hand. In many a place where there was no orchestra some client who had confidence in his voice would rise and pour forth the melody of the immortal hymn, all those about joining in the chorus: "*Le jour de gloire est arrivé!*"

One could not be better placed to see a typical Parisian crowd than were we on our terrace, from which we overlooked the wide expanse of the centering streets at the top of the hill crowned by the Panthéon. Of course the Boul' Mich' was instantly at its best. It has always exhibited more exuberance than has any other avenue in Paris, because it is close to the University and the great schools. Its leafy shade makes it agreeable for any one. Student processions were organized at once and went up and down carrying flags, crying: "*Vive la France!*" "*Vive la Paix!*" "*Vivent les Alliés!*" and singing that most popular of student songs at present, "Madelon." What a whirlwind there was in this street! The air was thick with acclamations and applause. Behind these student processions came another, one infinitely more moving; it was made up entirely of men who had been wounded. No one could see them pass without emotion. No one could without reverence look upon their stars and their palms, their red and green ribbons. One read in them the pluck and grit, the danger and wounds, of the past which made possible the victory of the present. And now we gaze above the crowd and find that meanwhile the houses have become gay with flags. There are always many flags flying in Paris, but on the evening of June 23 it took but a short time to add as many more. The colors were the more vivid in the evening sun, for on this next to the longest day in the year the sun was still glorious between six and seven o'clock. There were great flags bordered with gold fringe which blotted out an entire window; but there were others, little bits of flags, which you saw being placed by children. And these little flags seemed to me far more symbolical than did the others of a war in which French fathers gave themselves, even to laying down their lives, so that they might assure to-morrows without fear to their babies.

And later, at the theaters and at the opera, sometimes sung or recited both outside and inside the theater, there was the "Marseillaise" again. From the balcony of the Opera House Mademoiselle Marthe Chenal, the great soprano, interpreted the anthem from the balcony to a dense crowd that extended far along the boulevards in every direction. The artist sung the "Marseillaise" as she had never sang it before, and the various actresses who, with liberty cap and robed in the tricolor, recited the lines of Rouget de Lisle in the various theaters recited them as never before. No one fortunate enough to hear these lines from such women can ever forget the occasion. Even in the hour of triumph there seemed to me to be in their voices the note of a greater resolution, just as there seemed to be a greater *souplesse* and magnificent abandon in their gestures, more of dramatic fervor, indeed, in the impact. Nothing could have been a finer climax to the evening's fête. It had to be "La Marseillaise." Nothing else or less could have so relieved the vast multitudes tense with emotion. Nothing could have so expressed popular satisfaction and national joy.

Thus every one wanted to celebrate one of the greatest dates in history. And yet all this blaze of color and movement and sound did not equal that when the armistice was announced. Why?

The time between November 11, 1918, and June 23, 1919, has given Frenchmen opportunity to see more clearly than ever their enemy's character, their own internal perils, and thus their doubly darkened future. It is an increasingly darkened future for all the world as well.

It is true that France is heartened. Especially are those Frenchmen heartened who remember their country's isolation in 1870-1. They take pride in their army, now far ahead of the German army;

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they look about and note that their country is environed by allies and friends, fervent admirers of the marvelous military *élan* which distinguishes France, and who acknowledge the heroic fiber by which she has won her present place in the world. These Frenchmen, remembering the forty-four years of German provocation and of French humiliation, these are they who now breathe the deepest sigh of relief. One can appreciate the precious quality of their joy, for some of them remember that on this very date exactly forty-nine years ago, namely, on June 23, 1870, in Bismarck's office in Berlin, he discussed with Moltke and Roon and others an attack on France which would be begun by a proposition to put a Hohenzollern prince on the Spanish throne. That discussion did indeed become the beginning of the war of 1870, and that war was the precursor of the present war.

My French friends avoid saying "the late war." They do not believe that the present war will be really ended before the last article of the Peace Treaty shall have been fulfilled, and that will take fifteen years or more.

But France has the same determination to meet Germany face to face, *jusqu'au bout*, which she had at the first battle of the Marne. And with France, as all lovers of France know, determination does not mean merely something heavy and gloomy and somber. There is always the Gallic and gracious *élan* of which I have spoken. And, too, better than other peoples the French know how to appreciate this quality when they find it in others. For example, the other day, when I was at Belleau Wood, a French officer who had been close to our troops there a year ago said to me: "*Ah, Monsieur, j'admire du fond du cœur vos soldats américains; ils se sont fait tués le plus élégamment.*"

Frenchmen are soberer now than they were seven months ago, when the armistice was declared, because they are more disillusionized. In the first place, they did not expect that it would take so long to frame a Treaty of Peace. Most Frenchmen echo the opinion of the best Frenchman I know, one in exalted station, who said to me: "The Peace Commissioners made their great mistake when they included the framing of a charter for the League of Nations in the framing of the Peace Treaty. They could have included in the Treaty an agreement to stand by the principles of a League of Nations and to frame a charter for it without taking all the time necessary to put together the details of the actual Covenant. This was what France wanted, but she was outvoted. It was an especially cruel thing for her thus to be outvoted, for more than any other nation she needed an immediate decision as to peace terms. The result has cost her an immense amount of money in daily interest due from Germany, and also the wearing down of an immense amount of national patience." Those of us who think that the League of Nations would never have been established unless it was established just as it was cannot help appreciating the peculiarly poignant economic and financial situation here.

In the second place, though assuring to France her lost provinces, though providing for an offset to her destroyed mines by the temporary possession of those in the Sarre Basin, the Treaty does not provide sufficient guaranty for reparation to be made either in money or in kind. This prevalent conviction was bitterly accentuated when, on June 16, it was announced that the Peace Commissioners had actually revamped the Treaty in favor of Germany, giving to her economic, financial, and territorial concessions, most of them more to the detriment of France than to that of any other nation. In the words of M. Auguste Gauvain, editor of the "Journal des Débats" to me, "We have paid a disproportionate price for our desire to seem exactly just towards the Germans."

Again, there is the matter of Poland. Frenchmen now know, through direct sources, that the Germans have formed a great military organization to prevent Polish reconstruction as described by the Treaty, and that this organization must be offset by another which presumably can only come from France—from France, which needs demobilization as no other country needs it! Concerning the Polish situation M. Clemenceau, the French Premier, has just said: "We must look calmly and resolutely into the face of the actual facts. With them in view, to throw the bridle over the neck of the Boches is simply to see them giving themselves up at once to aggression and violence. One must be on one's guard against any surprise."

Yes, indeed. Two surprises were even then on the way. Within the hour the French learned that the Germans had burned the captured French flags which by the Treaty were to be returned to France, and at Scapa Flow had scuttled the German fleet, handed over as a ransom last November for the total disaster with which the Allied armies were then threatening Germany. Thus the Germans have already torn up two articles of the Peace Treaty.

In the destruction of the German fleet Frenchmen naturally see the culminating and most impressive proof that the Boches intend to decline their responsibility for the execution of the peace conditions. Of course the German admiral at Scapa Flow had no right to act in a hostile manner. He, with all the crews of the interned fleet, was a prisoner of war, and thus without authority to give military orders. Moreover, as the fleet had been given by the German Government into the hands of the Allies as a pledge, this pledge could not be withdrawn or destroyed by the debtor's individual act. The sinking of the fleet, however, is still incomprehensible to the majority of Frenchmen. Neither they nor the English, for that matter (for the London "Times's" headline last November read: "Surrender of the German fleet"), yet realize that the ships were not really surrendered, but simply interned. This regrettable decision was reached by the Inter-Allied Commission, composed of navy representatives from England, America, France, and Italy. The decision was contrary to the views of the naval advisers of the British Admiralty, but, the decision once reached, the Inter-Allied Commissioners felt that they had no power to place guards upon the German ships, and their decision of course made any prevention of scuttling impossible. The British Admiralty had no right of access except in a very formal way, and, being only interned, the Germans were properly guarded by their own men. Had the ships been surrendered and not interned, they would of course have passed to the control of the country in whose ports they lay, and that country would have been responsible for their safety. As to the real origin of the deplorable and humiliating affair, the question has already been raised in the House of Commons as to whether "it is not a fact that the British Prime Minister earnestly and strongly pleaded for the surrender of these ships, but was overruled by President Wilson." This question was not answered by the Government. On the other hand, it is reported that the American and French Commissioners vainly urged internment in neutral ports. In the French Parliament the Government has been asked for explanations, and also for an indication of what is going to be done to remedy the detriment caused to France by the destruction of the fleet, for the proportional loss to France is greater than that of any other participating Power.

Finally, the French are not oblivious to the contrast between the Germany of three months ago (struggling with acute Bolshevism but having a more docile attitude towards the Entente) and the Germany of to-day, whose language and actions remind one of the kind that distinguished Hohenzollern rule. Although there is a new German Cabinet, there seems no change from the arrogance of the Brockdorff-Rantzau set. Why should there be when the heads of the new Cabinet, Bauer and Erzberger, were Secretaries of State under William II? If there are any really convinced democrats and republicans in Germany, they themselves should resent the presence of these imperial servants at the head of a so-called German Republic—at least that is the expression used in the final acceptance of the Peace Treaty, a change from the previous expression, "*Reich*," generally interpreted as "Empire," but also liable to interpretation as "realm." Many Frenchmen have genuinely expected that a new Government would bring new men to the top. These Frenchmen are therefore disappointed and disgusted to find that in Germany there is still a disposition to hang on to the old "Potsdam gang," the old directors of affairs, even when Germany knows that she must get new directors if she is to live in peace with other people. If Germany does not yet know it, France and

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the rest of us already know it—Germany can never reform herself unless she breaks every bond that binds her to those responsible for the war.

Even if Germany signs, as she now says she is willing to do, there will be two delays. First, as to the Commissioners. We are not sure that any one has yet been clothed with authority to sign, though four days have passed since Herr von Haniel said that Germany would sign.

The second delay, one to which Frenchmen attach far graver importance, is found in the provisional Constitution of Germany as passed on February 10, 1919, at the National Assembly at Weimar. This article reads: "Treaties with foreign states . . . must be approved by the National Assembly and by the Commission of States." This would seem to indicate a ratification by the present Parliament and by a commission from the various German states, which would be simply the old Bundesrat of the late Parliament. The French say, however, that the Commission of States may mean an individual approval by every state in Germany, acting by itself before the meeting of the Commission of States, and, with this interpretation, the military chiefs and pan-German agitators, resolved to prevent the execution of the Treaty, have a fruitful field for their activity by delaying the many necessary ratifications. There might have been a possible way to check them in this scheming, and that was, before Germany's signature to the Peace Treaty, to compel her agreement to a protocol which shall determine the latest date for complete ratification.

Thus, though menaced by internal dangers (because of traitorous movements masking under labor strikes), and with the necessity of turning their faces homewards, Frenchmen feel, it seems to me, as would foresters asked to leave a burning wood before they had stamped out all the scattered flames. No matter what necessity at home, those foresters naturally want to watch that forest still. I hear them also asserting that, to keep the forest free from fire in the future, not only are they needed, but as well *an armed league* of those who have already helped them put out the fire.

Paris, June 27, 1919.

BACK-FIRING AGAINST BOLSHEVISM

BY LIEUTENANT JOHN M. OSKISON

The American Relief Administration has from the beginning, under the far-sighted guidance of Herbert Hoover, bent its efforts, not alone to the immediate necessity of supporting with food the war-exhausted nations of Europe which the armistice released from the domination of the Central Powers, but the equally exigent need of building up their political, financial, and business stability as a safeguard and guarantee of their future. The distribution of food relief was the first and fundamental requirement, since only so could their very lives be saved, and only on the basis of tranquillity which the banishment of the menace of starvation afforded could the next steps in national rehabilitation be taken. But these next steps were prepared for by Mr. Hoover while he was sending food into their territories as fast as available ships and inland transportation made it possible.

As long ago, therefore, as March 11 Mr. Hoover addressed notes to the Governments of Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Poland, and Serbia, urging them at once to organize national commissions of the leading commercial men of their nationalities to establish their own provisions for supplying themselves with food, developing a system of credits and commercial machinery that should soon work out into the importation not only of foodstuffs but of the raw materials on which their resumption of normal commercial life and sound economic relations with the rest of the world must rest.

Mr. Hoover has consistently held the position that there must be a responsible and law-observing government in any nation before the American or Allied Governments could undertake to send in food supplies—witness the response to the petition from Russia.

In his work of directing the distribution of relief intelligently and efficiently Mr. Hoover has had the assistance, through the co-operation of General Pershing, of a considerable number of men who are experts in various lines now in the American uniform in Europe. Lieutenant Oskison, a trained observer and writer, is one of this number, and this article from him is an account of an investigating trip of a group of such officers. In it Lieutenant Oskison shows the spirit which animates these Army men, still patriotically devoting their efforts to the great American ideal, although many of them doubtless long to return to the United States, as they might if they chose, since the need for their military service is ended.—THE EDITORS.

IT was a few days after the March revolution in Hungary and the overthrow of the Karolyi Government by the Bela Kun communist crowd that I joined a small group of American Army officers on a trip from Trieste to Vienna, to Prague, back to Vienna, and then to Belgrade. They were in the service of the American Relief Administration, and their object was to stimulate by personal conference with officials of the various new states which have been erected out of the fragments of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire the resumption of normal economic interchange. It was a hard mission, as I shall show later.

Pulling out of Trieste, the group settled into its first conference. The officer in charge began to outline the plan and policy. One of the first things he said was this:

"We're really back-firing against Bolshevism. You fellows are all familiar with the old Western method of stopping a prairie fire? I imagine most of us have seen it in operation. Now let me show you how it applies to our job down here."

Until you have seen it you can have no idea of the paralysis that has come upon the peoples of central and southeastern Europe. Paralysis is the right word. You get it into your head, after weeks of observation, that this wide land with its multitude of vigorous human beings is like a big man who has fallen from a cliff and shattered himself into complete paralysis. He has been under treatment of some sort for five months, and he is just beginning to wriggle his toes.

Hungry people, people out of work, people with daughters going on the streets instead of into the factories (which are closed), people ragged and barefoot, people whose savings are melting under the strain of keeping life in themselves, people who see their country's currency degenerating into a value only one-fifth of what it once was—these, so to speak, are the aching members of that great paralyzed body. They are seeking a cure. The old doctors were thrown out when the Central Powers crashed and revolutions broke Austria-Hungary into fragments.

Bolshevism is a cure-all. Its promoters are as shameless in their claims as any street vender of a snakeroot remedy discovered by an old Sioux medicine man and guaranteed to heal tomahawk wounds or ease an aching tooth. It is the sort of thing we all would like to believe. To the hungry and hopeless of German Austria and Hungary and Serbia and Rumania and Bulgaria it might very well seem the one way to economic recovery.

Bolshevism cares nothing for national boundaries, national pride, racial cohesion. It has a naïve belief that ordinary economic practices are no more essential than are men called kings. Throw everything into a pot, they say, and let everybody feed out of the pot—in some miraculous fashion the pot will continue to be filled. How? They should worry!

What the world heard directly after the armistice of November 11 was that Germany would rather sink into the economic slough of Bolshevism than make an effort to pay the tremendous indemnities certain to be imposed. That was a danger, as American investigators agreed. But the danger to Germany was slight as compared with that in the old Austro-Hungarian Empire.

I get back to the group of American officers in conference in the car.

"The big job," said the head of the group (though I do not pretend to quote him literally), "is the re-establishment of former economic relations between the peoples who have been segregated into the

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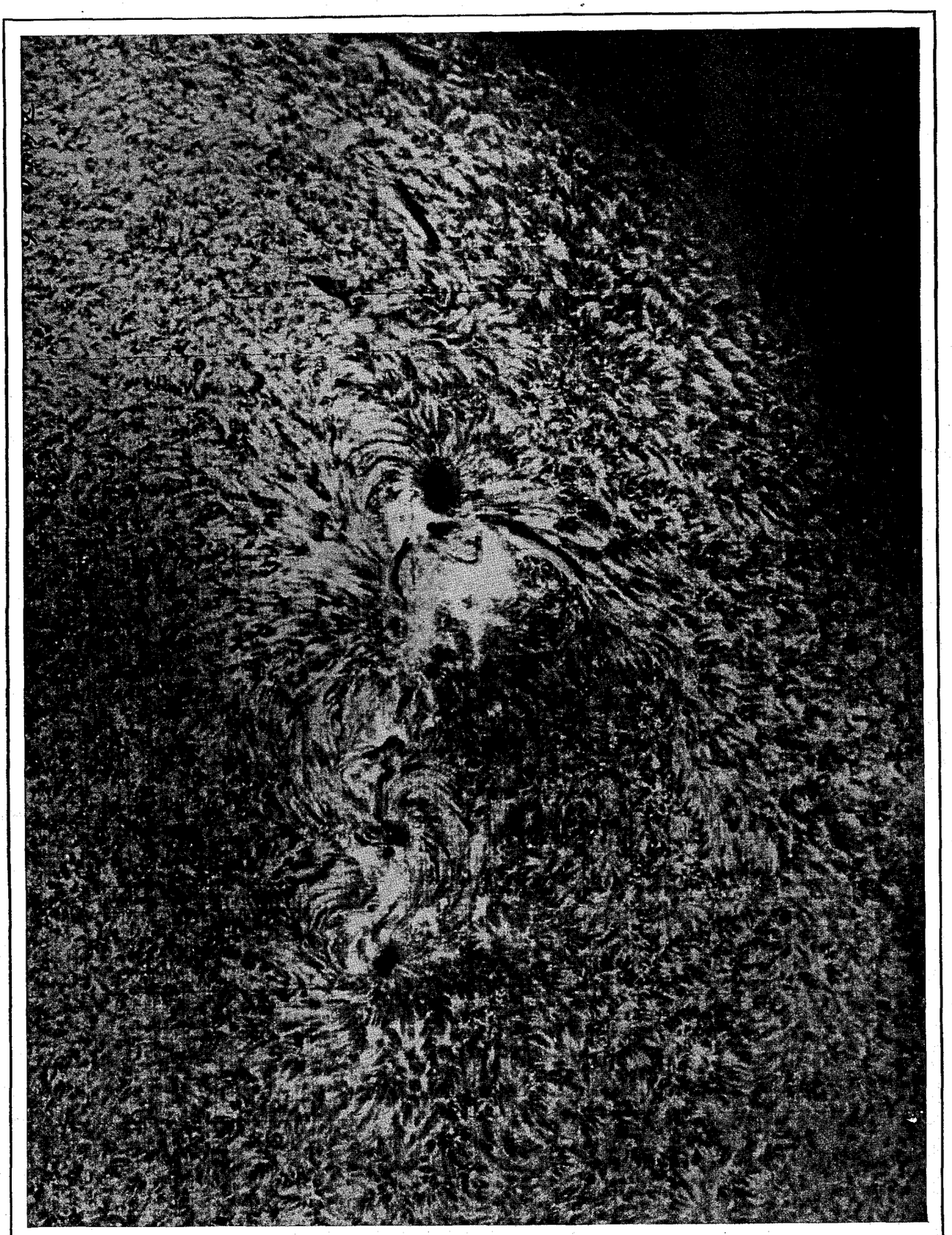

Underwood & Underwood

A GROUP OF SUN SPOTS

This remarkable photograph shows with distinctness some of the enormous "sun spots" which have lately engaged the attention of astronomers. The photograph was taken at the Mount Wilson Observatory, near Pasadena, California, through a telescope specially mounted on a tower sixty feet high

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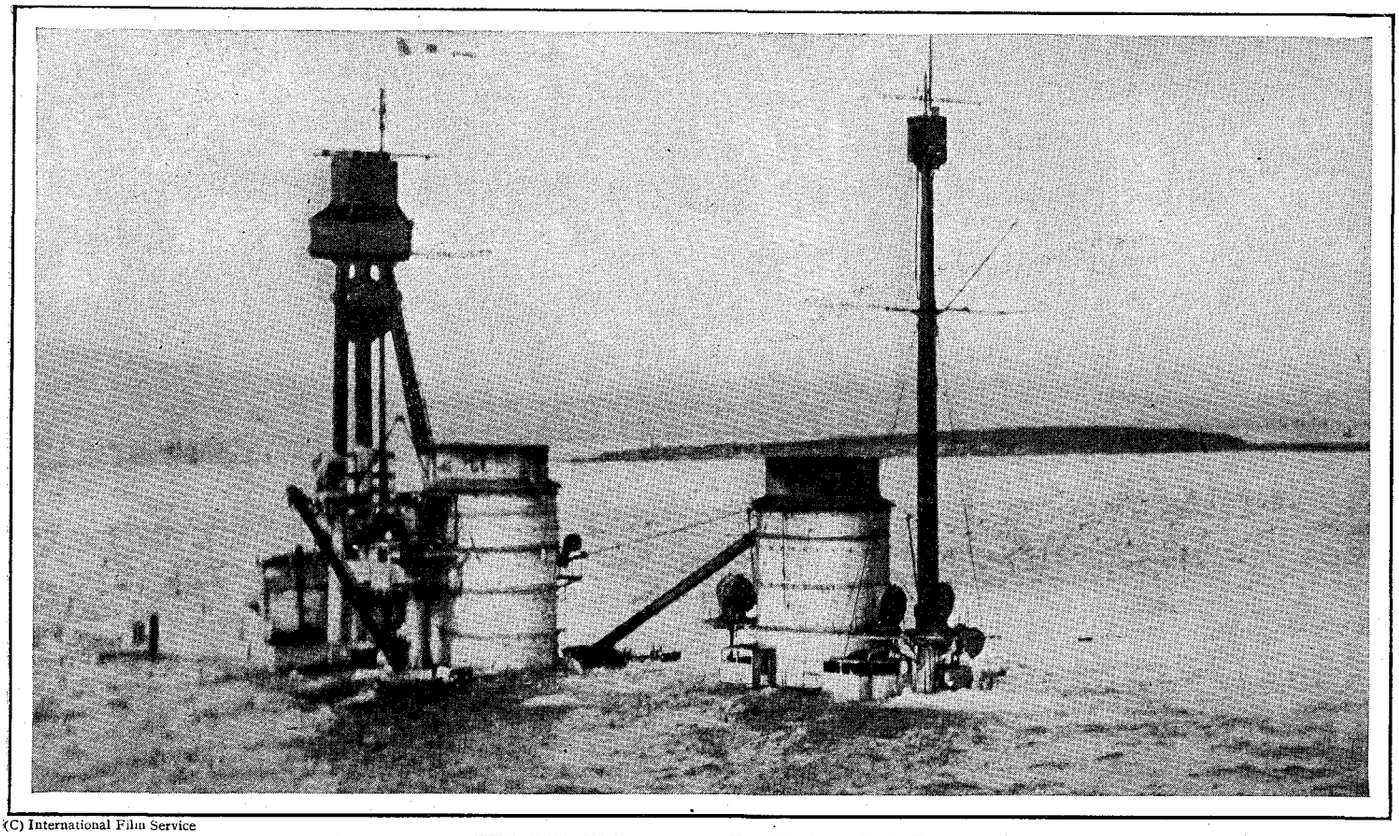
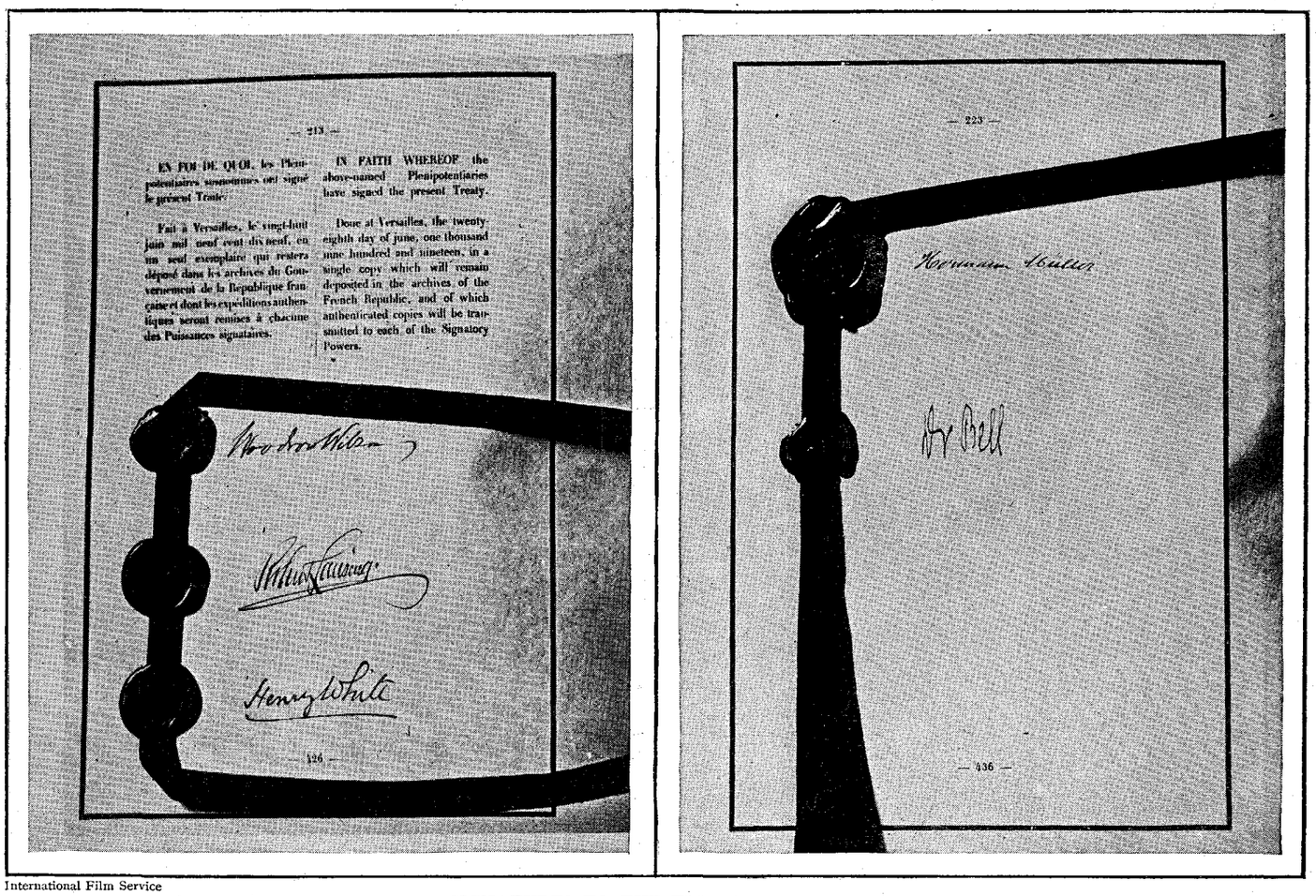


(C) International Film Service

THE SCUTTLING OF THE GERMAN FLEET

Photographs just received in this country show actual incidents of the Scapa Flow destruction of the German fleet. In this picture the Hindenburg has sunk in rather shallow water and is resting evenly on the bottom


— 213 —
EN FOI DE QUOI, les Plénipotentiaires soussignés ont signé le présent Traité.
Fait à Versailles, le vingt-huit juin mil neuf cent dix-neuf, en un seul exemplaire qui restera déposé dans les archives du Gouvernement de la République française et dont les expéditions authentiques seront remises à chacune des Puissances signataires.
IN FAITH WHEREOF the above-named Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty.
Done at Versailles, the twenty-eighth day of June, one thousand nine hundred and nineteen, in a single copy which will remain deposited in the archives of the French Republic, and of which authenticated copies will be transmitted to each of the Signatory Powers.
Woodrow Wilson
Robert Lansing
Henry White
— 223 —
Hermann Müller
Dr Bell
— 436 —

International Film Service

SIGNATURES TO THE TREATY OF PEACE

The signatures to the Treaty of Peace and the seals attached occupied several pages. Above at the left are shown the signatures of President Wilson, Mr. Lansing, Secretary of State, and Mr. White. At the right appear the signatures of the two German representatives, Herr Müller and Dr. Bell

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(C) London "Daily Mail," from Paul Thompson

THE KING'S PEACE PROCLAMATION

There is a mediæval aspect in this scene. The English Garter-King is publicly reading King George's Proclamation of Peace from the balcony of Friary Court, St. James's Palace, in London

Paul Thompson

BASTILLE DAY IN BROOKLYN

While the great French celebration of Bastille Day (July 14) was going on in Paris America's sympathy with her French ally was shown in Brooklyn, when these palms and wreaths were laid by American girls on the graves of French sailors in the United States National Cemetery

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various states. Go back to the revolutions that created Jugoslavia and Czechoslovakia and trimmed German Austria to the size of an American county and isolated the Magyars in Hungary. They were the outcome not so much of hatred of the Hapsburgs as of a fierce desire to secure their own identities. Each new state was determined that it should live. Each was jealous of its neighbors and suspicious of its neighbors' intentions. Each pushed its claims for territory to the limit. Each felt the release of old bonds, and determined to avoid being tied up anew.

"When you consider that the old Austro-Hungarian Empire was held together by the interdependence of its elements economically and the co-ordination and control of transportation and communication, you can understand the dead stoppage which occurred when railways and telegraph and telephone lines were cut into fragments. And this chaos was further confused by the action of each of the new states in segregating the currency which happened to be in its possession and stamping it so that it could not be passed anywhere else.

"Then quarrels developed over the division of war materials, over the division of the assets of the Austro-Hungarian banks, over the responsibility for war debts, over the division of railway cars, engines, and railway materials. When the first representatives of the American Relief Administration made their entry into this region, they found nobody willing to deal with his neighbor.

"The Czechoslovaks were fighting the Poles over the Karwin coal mines, they were fighting the Hungarians over Pressburg; the Hungarians were at war with the Rumanians over Transylvania. Production in the coal-fields which had for generations supplied the needs of Central Europe had dropped to one-half of normal of the mines in operation and many mines were closed. The Italians and the new Jugoslav Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes were watching one another across the armistice line, each with blood in its eye.

"How could normal commerce go on between the states under such conditions? Never were conditions better for the spread of Bolshevism. And out of Russia the agents of Bolshevism were coming to excite the people to try their remedy. They were like the old outlaw hunters of the West who used to set the prairie afire in a score of places in order to drive the game in front of their guns. They had money and a fund of promises from Lenine, and they used both recklessly.

"The Allies—Italy, France, Great Britain, and the United States—decided that help must be given. A programme of relief was agreed upon; in the face of facts as to the great source of food supply, the major share of the programme had to be borne by America.

"The first essential, of course, was to send as much food as possible. A programme calling for the delivery of some 185,000 tons of breadstuffs and 15,000 tons of fats (pork products) per month for five months, ending June 30, was undertaken for the relief of the people of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire and Serbia and Montenegro. Our part was to secure through the United States Grain Corporation in America sufficient materials to fill the programme, from the Shipping Board the ships required to bring the stuff over, and arrange for the receipt of it by the Governments. Our job, theoretically, was over when the representatives of the Jugoslav and the Czechoslovak Governments receipted at the ports for the quantities agreed upon. But in fact getting food away from the ports has been the hardest part of the programme, because the limited supply of available engines and cars and the desperate shortage of coal led to serious disputes over the furnishing of equipment and coal. Then the food traffic began to run into border blockades of a military and political character. It seemed to us who had been inspired with a notion of the urgency of the relief programme that these people really were indifferent to suffering and death from starvation; otherwise, how could they put so many trivial obstacles in the way of getting our food through.

"Still, the untangling of the food movement snarls was a part of the day's work. It required all the diplomacy of an interallied commission, all the patience we could summon. We used threats and persuasion and cigarettes—everything we had ever heard of—to conciliate men who were exalted by a new nationalist spirit and full of hate and suspicion of their neighbors. In one case to secure the passage of our food trains across a border closed because the military authorities of one nation said that its flag had been insulted by soldiers of the adjoining state we had to appeal to the Supreme War Council in Paris and have the absolute direction of food traffic placed in the hands of Mr. Hoover, the Director-General of Relief for Europe. Whereupon we became railway operators as well as diplomats!

"But for the second part of the job we have undertaken it is fortunate that our powers have been enlarged and that we have had to come into intimate contact with the members of all the Governments. The fact that we are Americans, that we are representatives of President Wilson and backers of his theory of the self-determination of peoples, that we are not suspected of selfish designs, and that we are from a country which is known in Europe as the home of big business—these have made it possible for us to act as mediators. For example, the Czechs have surplus sugar and more coal than any other state of the old Empire. German Austria is in desperate need of both sugar and coal, and herself has surplus salt and certain manufactured products. The states adjoin, the railways cross the border; it ought to be simple for the business men of the two countries or the Ministers to get together and trade. But it isn't. When we get to Vienna, we shall hear what the German Austrians say is holding up this commerce. Then we shall go on to Prague and hear what the Czechs have to say. We shall go to Belgrade and take up with the Ministers of the Jugoslav Government certain questions that have come up to block the trading of wheat and corn and pork from the Banat and Batchka provinces into Hungary and German Austria.

"We can bring Governments to an understanding of one another and can in a sense guarantee the performance of contracts. Through the power granted by the Supreme War Council in the matter of transportation control we can assure square dealing between the states in the use of railway equipment."

Again my apologies to the officer who presided at this conference if I have put into his mouth things he did not say. I have, at least, tried to quote the substance of his talk.

We came to Vienna, the hungriest city in Europe, the most hopeless because of the complete stoppage of her manufacturing. Within an hour three Viennese business men representing very great interests were in conference. I have certain notes made at that conference and have numbered eleven separate trading proposals which our officers were asked to help realize. For instance, it was said that an association of business men of Vienna had arranged to secure 65,000 tons of coal from the Dombrowa district of Polish Silesia if transportation could be obtained and if we could get from the Czechoslovak Government a guarantee that the trains would be permitted to pass unmolested across that territory. Again, 40,000 tons had been optioned by another group, who proposed to distribute the coal to idle factories. Another contract with the Poles involved the exchange of manufactured goods from German Austria for 3,000 cars of potatoes—500 for the Railway Workers' Union, in order to satisfy the most pressing demands of these hungry and discontented men. Another committee from a neighboring state had come to place an order at Vienna for the construction of ninety locomotives.

Said the spokesman for these business men:

"I have just come from a meeting of the employees of the Chamber of Commerce in which was discussed the formation of a soldiers' and employees' council, with the ultimate object of setting up a communist government. If we can get food and coal here, this movement may be headed off.

"We have made a contract with the Hungarian Government (the communist crowd) for the unhindered transport of goods from German Austria to Rumania and the Ukraine in exchange for oil and food. You agree that we cannot live on the food the Allies are kind enough to send us—remember that there are some 5,300,000 people of the 7,000,000 in German Austria who at the most liberal estimate can produce only two-thirds of what

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is required to feed themselves—and so we ask you to do what you can to help us put through these trades.

"Specifically we should like you to secure for us the safe-conduct of trains to and from Poland and the Ukraine. If you could secure the opening of the Danube to traffic, you would not only help us but Czechoslovakia and Hungary. You would also make it possible for us to secure foodstuffs from the northern districts of Jugoslavia, where there are said to be 300,000 fattened pigs for sale. We have a contract with one agricultural society in those districts involving 120,000,000 kronen; but we can't move the products we have contracted for unless you can come to our assistance. In the Ukraine we know that there are thousands of cars of grain waiting to be sent out, because I was there last October to buy foodstuffs worth a billion kronen. In the harbors of Ukrainia I believe there are from five to ten thousand cars of grain we can purchase. Over there the krone is worth its old value. Help us to re-establish traffic on the Danube, and we can send manufactured goods and the poor Russian prisoners still in our country and bring back food.

"We have for exchange limited supplies of agricultural implements, steel, paper (especially print paper), chemicals, and salt. The season for salting pigs is at hand [this was early in April], and the 6,000 tons of surplus salt we have is in great demand in Ukrainia and northern Jugoslavia."

Two days later, at Prague, I heard the story of the Czechoslovaks. In conference with the Americans were three Ministers of the new Government, each with his proposals for securing our co-operation. I heard it explained that the Government could not enter upon contracts with the Government of German Austria because technically it was an enemy state, and I noted the telegram which was sent off that day to Paris by the chief of our mission requesting that this difficulty be removed. I heard threshed out the difficulties the Czechs had encountered in supplying coal and sugar to German Austria in exchange for cattle and machinery. I heard the promise made by the Minister of Transport that every assistance possible would be given in the movement of 3,000 cars of seed potatoes across Czechoslovakia from Germany to German Austria. I heard and saw what was arranged by the American officer charged with perfecting communications by telephone and telegraph into and beyond the country. I saw the chief of the Government system of communications working that day with a large force installing telephone and telegraph equipment in the Relief Administration's office. I met the officials who are co-operating with the American director of the child-feeding programme in Czechoslovakia—among them President Masaryk's daughter.

To hasten the better understanding between these neighbors, our mission took from Vienna to Prague an official from the German Austrian Food Controller's office who is most familiar with the sugar situation and an official from the Office of Public Works who knows most accurately the coal needs. Here, as in Vienna, I could not help seeing that the Government people believe thoroughly in American good will and in America's disinterestedness. They are leaning heavily upon us, in the expectation that we will be their most effective allies in fighting off that condition of hunger and unemployment which leads inevitably to Bolshevism.

Three days after the Prague conference we were in Belgrade. Here was called a conference with four Ministers of the new Jugoslav Government—the men in charge of finance, of commerce, of food, and of transportation. English, French, and Serbian had to be used, and in the three hours we talked a wide variety of economic proposals were taken up. Could we secure for Jugoslavia salt from German Austria? It was urgently needed by the pig-owning people. Could we help in getting motor cars for the country in order to set up some more or less adequate transportation system to supplement the broken main railway lines and stub-end lines of Serbia? Could we do anything to get the Danube opened to traffic? That was essential to the resumption of normal trading relations with Rumania and Czechoslovakia and German Austria.

We urged a relaxation of the Jugoslav order closing the country's boundary against German Austria, an order made to keep Bolshevist agents out, but so rigidly interpreted that even food traffic between the countries was interfered with. We pointed out the necessity of loading cars sent in with salt and manufactured products from German Austria with foodstuffs; and we took up the question of releasing flour grains from those northern provinces that have a surplus. We arranged to have submitted lists of products which might be exported to the United States in rder to establish further credit and build up an export trade.

Serbia is desperately in need of materials for repairing her railways, her railway equipment, and her telegraph and telephone lines. For instance, this list of absolutely necessary material for starting work in the railway repair shop at Nish was submitted to us; remember that this is essential to start 75 men at work where 1,200 were employed before the war:

	Kilogrammes.
Tin	5,000
Lead	3,000
Antimony	1,000
Zinc	500
Phosphor bronze	100
Graphite	200
Graphite pots for smelting purposes; of 100 kilogrammes capacity, 5; of 120 kilogrammes capacity, 5; of 60 kilogrammes capacity, 15.	
Copper and iron for foundry use, belts for transmission, tools to keep up standard-gauge and narrow-gauge lines of track.	

Our communications expert was supplied with a long list of essential parts for telephone installation by the official in charge of the lines in Belgrade and northern Serbia.

These new Governments which have been erected on the ruins of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire are struggling to establish a régime under which the people will have a square deal. They are actually struggling with the economic problems which would confront Bolshevist leaders who came into power. Lenine in Russia and Bela Kun in Hungary are learning that international trade and finance and transportation must be maintained if people would live.

The Government Ministers who confer with the American officers of the Relief Administration are just as determined as the Bolsheviki to keep their countries free of the old autocracy of wealth and the exploitation of class by class. Their task is difficult; they are undertaking it with the knowledge that they are working against hunger and unemployment, against political unrest, against the active propaganda of agents sent out by Lenine and his crowd. They are largely untrained in government routine. They are working against time. Will they survive until the new crops? Can they guide their countries through the political and military tangles that are threatening to overthrow them and lead to bloody war over boundaries? Our American members of the Relief Administration who are in touch with them daily know with what anxiety these questions are discussed.

In a sane, in an orderly fashion these struggling Governments are trying to accomplish what the Bolsheviki promise to accomplish by revolution and fantastic disregard of all economic laws. They are offering food instead of proclamations, and straining every resource in order to get the food. They are seeking the raw materials needed to start idle factories instead of turning the people loose to loot the banks, the stores, and private homes. They are attempting to re-establish communications and transportation systems because they know that they are essential to life; by contrast, Bolshevist control has meant the disintegration of transportation through control by committees of workmen ignorant of technical problems.

It is in this sense that back-firing against Bolshevism is going on. It is because their efforts to stop the spread of an economically insane doctrine are important to the peace of the world during the next few years that the American Relief Administration, which is charged with the distribution of food supplied through the Congressional appropriation of $100,000,000 and through other financial arrangements in the case of German Austria and Hungary, is co-operating. This is the explanation of why America is not only sending food into Central Europe, but is also lending the aid of her representatives in re-establishing normal economic interchange.

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VISIT JAPAN

BY MARGUERITE A. SALOMON

"Passports may be obtained for men and their families for travel to the Orient (except Siberia) for health and recreation"—so reads the bulletin issued by the United States Passport Bureau. For the first time, then, since the war one may visit Japan, China, and the Philippines for pleasure. The lifting of the ban against travel to the Orient comes at a specially fitting time, especially for tours to Japan, and every American who can take the trip should, for the attention of the Japanese at present is centered on the United States. Nothing would tend to create a better feeling between the two countries than for citizens of the United States to visit Japan. Besides, there is an educational value in such a trip just now which is very important. During the past year large numbers of prominent Japanese have come to the United States, mainly for the purpose of studying us. They come here to see how we live, how we act, and to get, if possible, our view-point. On the other hand, Americans who have visited Japan are in the smallest minority.

The trip to Japan is not so serious nor so great an undertaking as most persons believe. Allowing sixty days from the Atlantic coast, one can make a very fair and comprehensive tour which will include all the points of interest. Of course a more extended trip is desirable, as is the case with any tour, but two months' time is ample to see all of Japan proper.

In planning this trip the most essential thing is to decide just when to go. The end of March or the first of April and the end of September or the first part of October are the best times to leave the Pacific coast. Both the winter and the summer months in Japan are very trying to one who visits this country for the first time. The winter is extremely cold and it often snows very heavily. The Japanese homes, teahouses, theaters, temples, and museums are not heated, and it is hard for the foreigner to become accustomed to the chilled rooms. Besides there is the grave danger of catching cold in these places. The roads are also very bad in winter and it is difficult to get about. On the other hand, summer weather in Japan is almost unbearably hot. One can get relief, to be sure, in mountain resorts like Karuizawa and Miyanoshita, but it is almost impossible to visit cities like Tokyo, Kyoto, Kobe, or Osaka in the summer-time with any degree of comfort. Added to this the summer usually brings most unpleasant typhoons, and the mosquitoes are especially annoying. June in Japan means the *nyubai*, or rainy season, and naturally one would not want a trip marred by an entire month of rain. One's whole impression of the country may be spoiled by visiting it in the wrong season.

The question of route is the next important thing to consider. For those who have never visited Japan my suggestion is to choose the southern route for the outbound trip and the northern route for the return journey. The southern route starts at San Francisco and allows for a stop of about a day at Honolulu. It is a most enjoyable experience. This is the longest route and takes several days more than the northern, but the weather is usually very fine, and one is well repaid for going that way. In returning by way of the north (landing either at Vancouver or Seattle) several days can be saved, thus allowing a longer stay in Japan. The southern route averages about eighteen days, and the northern route can be made by certain steamers in ten days.

The third important consideration is the question of clothes. One rarely finds a traveler to the Orient who takes exactly what is really needed. Most persons labor under the assumption that Japan has a tropical climate and that heavy clothes are not required. This is a mistake. For the southern route summer clothes are necessary at any season from the third day out of San Francisco to about the second day before reaching Yokohama. After that, if one travels during the months suggested above, it is best to have fairly warm things. A heavy coat will always be found necessary. The question of shoes is a very important one. A good stout pair of walking shoes should be in every equipment. There are no pavements to speak of in Japan and the little stones which are strewn over the roads to help settle the dust are very hard on one's shoes. It is also necessary to have a pair of shoes which can be slipped off and on very easily, for shoes have to be taken off in temples, in tea-houses, in Japanese theaters, and in Japanese homes. Woolen socks and stockings are also found very useful, for the traveler who is not accustomed to walking about in his stockinged feet finds the cold floors very uncomfortable; and it is well to take along a pair of soft woolen bed-socks, to be worn over the stockings, especially when walking over stone floors.

In order to see the most of Japan in a short time map out in advance some sort of plan of sightseeing. The following places, to be visited in the order in which they are given, include every important point of interest to the traveler: Yokohama, Kamakura, Tokyo, Nikko, Lake Chuzenji, Miyanoshita, Nagoya, Kyoto, Nara, Osaka, Kobe, and Miyajima. The length of time to be spent in each will depend upon the time at one's disposal. Roughly, the minimum time to allow for each should be something as follows: Yokohama, two days; Kamakura, one day; Tokyo, two days; Nikko, two days; Lake Chuzenji, one day; Miyanoshita, three days; Nagoya, one day; Kyoto, one week; Nara, two days; Osaka, one day; Kobe, one day; and two days at Miyajima. From Miyajima the return trip can be made to Kobe for embarkation to the United States, or one can go directly to Yokohama and board the ship there.

All hotels in Japan are conducted on the American plan. Rates range from ten yen ($5) a day up. Japanese inns charge about the same rates as the hotels. The hotels are conducted in foreign style, with foreign beds and foreign meals. The inns are purely Japanese, serving Japanese meals and the guests sleep on the floor.

While in cities like Yokohama, Tokyo, Kobe, Osaka, and Kyoto there are a limited number of motor cars and taxis for hire, the general mode of conveyance is by jinrikisha (or *kuruma*, as it is really called in Japan). There are standard *kuruma* rates, which can be obtained from the hotel clerk. It is always best to know before you start on a trip the exact fare. This often avoids unpleasant encounters with the *kuruma-ya* (the man who pulls the rikisha). Also it is well to have addresses written in Japanese before starting for any particular point. The hotel clerks are most obliging in this detail and will gladly write the addresses. This saves much time and annoyance in locating a destination.

There is really no difficulty about the language in Japan, for almost every storekeeper and *kuruma-ya* can speak a little English and English-speaking guides can always be secured.

A very helpful aid is the Japan Tourist Bureau. A branch of the Tourist Bureau can be found in almost every railway station, and its headquarters are in Tokyo. The Japan Tourist Bureau is a part of the Imperial Government Railways System, and it issues dozens of very useful pamphlets and maps of all points of interest in the Empire, all of which can be obtained free of charge.

For shopping the tourist will probably find Yokohama most adapted to his needs. The products from every corner of the Empire can be found here in hundreds of attractive shops.

The currency of Japan is not unlike that of the United States. There are copper one and two sen pieces, nickel five sen pieces, and silver ten, twenty, and fifty sen pieces. Paper currency is also issued in denominations of ten, twenty, and fifty sen, and one, five, ten, twenty, fifty, and one hundred yen notes. The value of the sen is about half a cent (gold) and the yen about fifty cents.

Finally, it is well to remember that the word "hurry" has no place in the Japanese vocabulary, and the tourist who understands this perfectly is assured a happy trip.

HOMELY ECONOMICS

Mr. Theodore H. Price writes to us that his "article upon 'Some Homely Economics' seems to have struck a responsive note" and that he is "getting many letters about it." He sends one of these letters, which we print herewith. The writer of this letter, an Outlook subscriber in Kentucky, indorses Mr. Price's warning against the dangers of extravagance. Some readers, we think, who recognize these dangers will see a distinction between indulgence in ten-dollar silk shirts and the use of automobiles. What some regard as luxuries others call necessities. In the list of necessities Mr. Price himself included tobacco. Not everybody would place it there, though a good many men would if they were as frank as Mr. Price. The fact is that thrift does not necessarily mean stopping progress in the standard of living—as indicated by graduation from buggies to automobiles—or even the deprivation of the pleasant things of life, but the denial of those things whose cost is incommensurate with their value to the user. The French, who are proverbially skilled in making and enjoying some of the best things of life, from food to the fine arts, are also proverbially thrifty. The letter which Mr. Price sends us follows.—THE EDITORS.

I have read and re-read your article, "Some Homely Economics," in The Outlook of July 9.

It is an excellent and timely warning of a real and impending danger. Were I to find any fault with it, it would be to say that you treat the subject in too light a vein.

The tendency to useless extravagance is an immensely serious matter. Living as I do in a small inland town, with a population, "counting the whites," of something less than 20,000, and with little personal knowledge of the habits of other communities, I am, judging the balance of our country by what I daily see, impressed with the belief that we are the most lavishly, wildly, foolishly extravagant people

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on the face of the earth, spending what we earn, not in betterments, but in unnecessary things that perish in the using.

Our community, especially our farm people, are prosperous and patriotic. We have put nearly three million dollars in Liberty Bonds. Our bank deposits are nearly twice what they were in 1913, and yet I am sorry to say that little seems to be going into farm improvements, better houses, better fences, barns, tilling of lands, good roads, or better schoolhouses. It is going, I say, into things that perish in the using.

A few instances for illustration:

A retail merchant of our town recently told me that he had ordered a half-dozen pairs of ladies' fancy dress shoes which he could not sell for less than $12 a pair; he was afraid to order more. But these half-dozen pairs were quickly snapped up. A farmer came into his store. He had just been paid for his crop of tobacco. Out of the proceeds he paid for six fancy silk shirts at $10 each—$60. These would seem to me to be the acts of light-headed, foolish people were it not for the fact that I see around me every day, almost hourly, just as incredible evidences of foolish waste.

The disease manifests itself here, and I judge all over the country, in the automobile craze. There are now very many more automobiles in this county than there were buggies a few years ago; many of them—most of them, in fact—are owned by people who really cannot afford such a luxury, and, say what you will about the useful purposes to which automobiles may be put, they are ninety-nine per cent mere luxuries. An automobile for the average family is an expensive vehicle; its life is short, and its upkeep very considerable. But on a Saturday, in addition to those owned by the town folk, you can see hundreds—yes, hundreds—of them driven in by farmers whose lands need draining, tilling, and other improvements. The automobile, to my mind, is a greater economic problem than the tariff; it is next to the League of Nations in importance.

I hope you will keep up the discussion. Surely our people can be educated, if only slowly, to a little common prudence. Don't call it "Homely Economics." It is a matter of vast, vital, far-reaching importance.

Although I am now nearly eighty years old, I am almost afraid that I shall live to see the evil consequences of our wasteful habits It will be hard to live through the time of depression that is sure to come.

MALCOLM YEAMAN.

Henderson, Kentucky.

SOCIALISTS AND CAPITALISTS

Every so often—but not so very often—the "conservative," by which we mean also the preservative, press carries an imprint that shows an adult, matured understanding of revolutionary tendencies. It happened in your issue of June 4, at the hands of Mr. Price, and it was refreshing.

We are in danger of making one costly mistake. We are prone to pass judgment upon a doctrine that has been built around a basic idea, and to accept or reject the whole thing rather than to take up the basic idea alone, to see what it is made of or to estimate what can be done with it.

It is possible that such leading lights as Karl Marx and John Stuart Mill were not free from this unphilosophic failing.

For instance: Socialism is a principle of social dynamics that implies collective interests and socially sympathetic motives. But Socialists have burdened themselves with a programme that calls for a war upon the Capitalist system. But Capitalism is also a principle, more newly discovered than Socialism, and one that the leaders in capitalistic enterprise have not learned to use to its full potencies. Both they and the Socialists imagine that it is a class function, necessarily in conflict with Socialism.

Neither Capitalists nor Socialists appear to realize that these two principles are jointly in historic conflict with another, a principle that was old ten thousand years ago and that is dominant in every hamlet and city on the globe to-day. That is anarchy, a daily, universal experiment that always fails to work, and that has its "philosophic" school looking forward to its "adoption" in a vague future of perfected and super-enlightened humanity.

Our immediate task is to understand that Socialism and Capitalism as basic ideas represent parallel efforts on the part of a growing social intelligence to overcome the crudities of prehistoric anarchism as it remains with us, and the achievement of order and efficiency in social and business activities.

Socialists refuse to admit that big business is doing the world's work to-day better than it was ever done before; Capitalists have not the business sense to see that Socialism means the universal triumph of their big idea; every possible share of stock sold in advance and dividends rolling in as fast as a common interest in getting out the work as fast and as well as it can be done can accomplish the feat.

So anarchy continues to breed, plan, and make war, so far as it still rules, within and between the nations.

Hollywood, California. A. GEORGE.

TOLSTOY, NIETZSCHE, AND JESUS

With the signing of peace has fallen the philosophical house and fortune of Friedrich Nietzsche.

Nietzsche says, "Hate!" Yet if we did not hate, we would not strive against evil. Jesus must have hated evil when he drove the changers from the Temple. He also must have believed in the use of force. On that day and on the day he arraigned the scribes and Pharisees he was probably not a "Christian gentleman." Yet in his discourses he wandered in the idealized land of the non-resistance of evil. When the stars shine on a summer night, we say, "Henceforth whosoever shall smite me on the right cheek, to him I shall turn the other." But the next day, in the conflict of many interests, when put to it, we fight. And it is well that we do, for evil unresisted is evil triumphant.

Tolstoy taught Russia the doctrine of the non-resistance of evil, just as the early Christians taught it to Rome. Tolstoy thought that if you do away with police and courts and most institutions restraining men peace will reign and men will love one another. He thought that the strong would help the weak. This implies, of course, that the weak, as well as the strong, would propagate. Nietzsche also favored the abolition of most government institutions restraining men, not in order that peace might reign, but that hate might reign and that violence might have a free hand. Out of the hate and the violence the strong only would survive. They alone are fit to propagate. Why burden the strong with the weak? The strong should be helped, not the weak. The weak breed only more weak. It is the strong that should carry forward the stream of civilization. Strange antagonists, Tolstoy and Nietzsche! Both starting from freedom, one points to the golden city of love, the other to the bloody city of power.

Nietzsche was right in the hope of a humanity always stronger. But his method was wrong. The future of mankind lies, not in war and conflict, but in artificial selection. Surely the state has the right to demand that its citizens shall be well born. Surely it has the right to say to the unfit, "Thou shall not bring forth sons and daughters of degeneracy." All of which, however, need not deny them marriage.

Tolstoy's golden city of love is the vision of all dreamers. But Tolstoy's method, like Nietzsche's, was wrong. Given freedom from restraint, men do not love, but devour one another, as in Russia now under the Bolsheviki. Instead of brotherly love, Russia will have nothing but blood and more blood, until the Man on the Horse appears. It is the Terror again, Robespierre proclaiming love by way of the ax.

Nietzsche's doctrine has been tried and has failed. The madness of his pages as a guide to nations has contributed to the untimely death of over ten million persons. As Rousseau was the philosophical mouthpiece of the French Revolution, Nietzsche was the dialectic spokesman of Prussianism—the doctrine that murder, arson, pillage, so long as they contribute to Germany's material benefit, would be justifiable in the sight of God, if there were one, and are for the ultimate benefit of the human race.

Henceforth Nietzsche will have only historical interest. Sword-rattling as a philosophical system is silent forever. Nietzsche's bust has fallen and is dust. No cement of the intellect can restore it, no worship of brutality ever again can give it human semblance. Had the Germans succeeded, the ethics of Christianity would have perished. But the doctrine of *the will to power* has been defeated by the doctrine of *the will to service*. The integrity of the earth has been maintained. Nietzsche has been defeated by Jesus. MAX EHRMANN.

Terre Haute, Indiana.

BOLSHEVIKI AND I. W. W.

I do not agree with Mr. Price when he states in his article in The Outlook of June 4 that Lenine and other leaders of the Bolsheviki and I. W. W. have "simply focused heartaches."

It seems to me that they have simply focusedbackaches. In other words, I believe that the average Bolshevik and I. W. W. hate work, and prefer to live on the savings of others.

They do not talk of creating new industries, but always propose to take from the rightful owners the control of business which is already organized. In their ignorance, they do not realize that any business depends for its success on the brains of the managers, and not on the muscles of the workman.

There always have been, and always will be, loafers and thieves, regardless of hours and wages.

Many of the Bolsheviki and I. W. W. are unmitigated rascals, and the world would be a better place to live in if they were shot.

The solution of the Bolshevism and I. W. W. question rests with the police rather than with the sentimentalist.

Hartford, Connecticut. * * *

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WEEKLY OUTLINE STUDY OF CURRENT HISTORY

BY J. MADISON GATHANY, A.M.

THE SCARBOROUGH SCHOOL, SCARBOROUGH-ON-HUDSON, NEW YORK

Based on The Outlook of July 23, 1919

Each week an Outline Study of Current History based on the preceding number of The Outlook will be printed for the benefit of current events classes, debating clubs, teachers of history and of English, and the like, and for use in the home and by such individual readers as may desire suggestions in the serious study of current history.—THE EDITORS.

[Those who are using the weekly outline should not attempt to cover the whole of an outline in any one lesson or study. Assign for one lesson selected questions, one or two propositions for discussion, and only such words as are found in the material assigned. Or distribute selected questions among different members of the class or group and have them report their findings to all when assembled. Then have all discuss the questions together.]

I—INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

A. Topic: The President Reports to the Country; Makes a Comparison; Appeals for Support; The President, the Senate, and the Treaty.

Reference: Pages 457; 464-466.

Questions:

1. According to President Wilson, as reported in The Outlook, why did America enter the world war? A critic of President Wilson's interpretation of why America went to war says that "nowhere in the declaration of war made by Congress in April, 1917, is there a remote suggestion of the ideal set forth by Mr. Wilson." Read the war declaration by our Congress. Read all of what President Wilson says on this point. Why did America enter the war? Discuss. 2. President Wilson speaks of the new order of ideas and of the old order of ideas. Make several comparisons of these two sets of ideas. 3. In The Outlook's "Poll of the Press" a number of editors make considerable sport of President Wilson's continual reference to the "ideals" and the "vision" for which the war was fought. Have visions and ideals played a considerable part in American history and in the history of other leading nations? Are nationality, manifest destiny, religion, democracy, and patriotism essentially ideals? Be specific, illustrate, and discuss at length (see bibliography below). 4. Discuss whether President Wilson made "too great concessions to the alleged imperialistic designs of our own allies." 5. Discuss also "whether the liberty of the United States to determine its own foreign policy has been sufficiently safeguarded" in the Treaty. 6. Tell what you think of this comment by the Des Moines "Capital:" "The thing to do is to adopt the Covenant, Treaty and all, and fight the other difficulties out afterwards." 7. Name and discuss several lessons Americans should learn from the study of this topic. 8. The following books deal with these questions: "The Power of Ideals in American History," by E. D. Adams (Yale University Press); "The Spiritual Interpretation of History," by Shailer Mathews (Harvard University Press); "In Our First Year of War," by Woodrow Wilson (Harpers); "American Patriotism in Prose and Verse," by J. M. Gathany (Macmillan).

B. Topic: Why the Kaiser Should be Tried; The Hermit of Amerongen.

Reference: Pages 462, 463; 469-472.

Questions:

1. Vicente Blasco-Ibáñez hopes that William II will shoot himself. Explain his position. 2. The Outlook hopes that the Kaiser will not shoot himself. Restate its reasons. 3. With which are you inclined to agree? Why? 4. How does Vicente Blasco-Ibáñez characterize William II? Does it seem to you that this picture of the Kaiser is overdrawn? Reasons. 5. On the whole, does history show that "divine-right" monarchs are superficial and worthless beings? Illustrate liberally. 6. What is the public law of nations? Discuss its character. 7. Discuss these two statements by Vicente Blasco-Ibáñez: "Life is nothing but a web of absurd realities." "There is no reason to suppose that life is just or logical." Are these expressions satire or sound moral philosophy? Distinguish.

II—NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Topic: The Irish Question in America.

Reference: Page 459.

Questions:

1. Tell frankly what you think of the reception and conduct of Mr. de Valera in America. 2. Discuss whether, in your opinion, he is hindering more than helping the Irish cause. 3. What do you think is the ultimate object of the agitation of the Irish question in the United States? Is it to get the American Government officially committed in favor of Ireland as against England, and thus cause war between Great Britain and America? Describe the consequences of such a war. 4. Do you agree with The Outlook in saying that American citizens of Irish descent should abstain from violent agitation of political matters in another country? Reasons. 5. Is President Wilson unstatesmanlike in refusing to champion the wishes of the Sinn Feiners? Discuss. 6. Tell with reasons whether the action of the American Senate in voting for a hearing for the Irish cause by the Peace Conference was a piece of reckless party politics.

III—PROPOSITIONS FOR DISCUSSION

(These propositions are suggested directly or indirectly by the subject-matter of The Outlook, but not discussed in it.)

1. A revolutionist in a modern democracy is a political criminal. 2. History shows that Americans as a race are more sentimental than reasonable. 3. The Irish live in the past—their grievances are historical.

IV—VOCABULARY BUILDING

(All of the following words and expressions are found in The Outlook for July 23, 1919. Both before and after looking them up in the dictionary or elsewhere, give their meaning *in your own words*. The figures in parentheses refer to pages on which the words may be found.)

Mountebanks (465); pedantries, gullible persons, simian ability, inexplicable (469); canonized, Protean character, crises (470).

BY THE WAY

The British Foreign Minister, the Right Hon. Arthur J. Balfour, lately gave leave to representatives of an Edinburgh museum to dig for antiquities on his estate near the city, promising that all finds should become national property. To their joy they turned up a mass of silver plates and church vessels, perhaps fifteen hundred years old, and a few Roman coins. Many of the pieces bore emblems of early Christianity. They were battered and were probably spoils seized by ancient pirates and intended for the melting-pot.

Apropos of alleged confusion in America's ideas as to why she is at the Peace Conference, some one remarks: "We seem to be in Europe on much such a mission as Mark Twain told about in his prospectus of chartering a comet for a sight-seeing trip. 'We shall,' he said, 'visit the fixed stars, but such stars as need fixing we shall fix.'"

Bishop Partridge is a collector of anecdotes about ministers. Here is one of his stories: "I once asked a minister how he had got through a certain service. He answered, grimly: 'Well, Bishop, the service was soothing, moving, and satisfying.' 'Yes,' I said, a little puzzled. 'Yes, exactly,' said he. 'It was soothing, because over half the congregation went to sleep. It was moving, because half of the other half left before I was through. And it must have been satisfying, inasmuch as I wasn't asked to come again.'"

The eccentricities of filing systems are boundless. One is related by a soldier of an officer who was looking in vain for records of the Sunday morning service. "They are filed under 'H,'" the sergeant in charge of the files told him. "Why under 'H'?" "Because it begins at half-past nine, sir."

A Cleveland reader, in response to a query in "By the Way" as to why Bridgeport, Ohio is distinguished by having the longest bar in the world, says:

"I would suggest that you obtain a map of Ohio, if one can be secured in New York (the State has recently been explored by New Yorkers, at considerable risk of their lives from hostile Indians, and has been mapped sufficiently well for our purpose), and find the town in question. This town is in the southeastern part of the State, on the Ohio River, one of the tributaries of the Mississippi. On the other side of this river, which has its head-waters in New York near Salamanca, is a city called Wheeling, the metropolis of a State called West Virginia. This State has, you may remember, been dry for several years. 'Dry' is an expression which probably has no meaning for New Yorkers, but which is reasonably familiar in Ohio outside of the Indian Reservations. For several years the Indians would ferry the thirsty inhabitants of Wheeling across the Ohio River to this town of Bridgeport, where they could slake their thirst, and since the construction of a bridge across the river the rush of temporary residents to this State has been so great that the bar in question had to be enlarged."

It used to be said that sailors sometimes mistook seals for the fabled sirens. Modern science reverses the fable. It is said that a phonograph has been put to a very novel use by seal hunters of the Pacific. It is set up near the rendezvous of the animals, and soon its music attracts their attention and they lift their heads well above the water.

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By the Way (Continued)

A hunter reports that he has been able to shoot large numbers of them while they are under the spell of the sounds so strange to their ears.

Says a wise philosopher in the Topeka "Capital:" "It doesn't do any good to hurry unless you have something to do when you get there."

Among the experiences in library work for soldiers is the following: "I knew one private soldier who conceived a fervent admiration for Ouida through taking 'Moths' out of the battalion library under the impression that it was a work on entomology, a subject in which he was deeply interested."

What is the oldest tune? London "Answers" says that it is the one known to us as going with "For he's a jolly good fellow." It has been said that this tune was brought back from the East by the Crusaders, and that the ancient Egyptians learned it from the Babylonians. This idea, which apparently was first suggested by Chateaubriand, who heard Arabs singing the tune, is mentioned only to be scouted in Grove's "Dictionary of Music and Musicians." Two centuries ago the air was sung by the French to their satirical song "Malbrouk s'en va-t-en guerre," which became immensely popular in its revival at the time of the French Revolution and is said to be the only tune Napoleon could sing.

So much has been said in criticism of our air mail system that it is pleasing to read in a Post Office Department bulletin that a record of ninety-nine per cent was made by the Air Mail Service between Washington and New York for the month of June, covering a mileage of 11,118 and carrying 15,643 pounds of mail. On the Cleveland-Chicago division a perfect score of one hundred per cent was obtained.

The young lady, says the San Francisco "Argonaut," had purchased a book in a department store and tendered a ten-dollar note for it. Then she began to read. Finally the change came, but the girl demurred. "I want another book," she said. "But you asked for that one," insisted the clerk. "I know it," she answered, sweetly, "but I've read it while I was waiting for my change."

The engineer, says an exchange, had become tired of the boastful talk he heard from the other engine-drivers at his boarding-house. One evening he began: "This morning I went over to see a new machine we've got at our place, and it's astonishing how it works." "And how does it work?" asked one. "Well," was the reply, "by means of a pedal attachment a fulcrumed lever converts a vertical reciprocating motion into a circular movement. The principal part of the machine is a huge disk that revolves in a vertical plane. Power is applied through the axis of the disk, and work is done on the periphery, and the hardest steel by mere impact may be reduced to any shape." "What is this wonderful machine?" was asked. "A grindstone," was the reply.

The teacher, relates London "Tit-Bits," was giving the class a natural history lecture on Australia. "There is one animal," she said, "none of you have mentioned. It does not stand up on its legs all the time. It does not walk like other animals, but takes funny little skips. What is it?" And the class yelled with one voice: "Charlie Chaplin."

Help—not *Too Late*, but when most needed

When a father dies without life-insurance, the mother and children are the ones that suffer most. The POSTAL LIFE recently received a very touching letter from a sorrowing wife whose husband put off protecting his family until it was "*too late*."

Women and children are indeed the ones to whom an insurance policy means most. It is help—not "*too late*," but when most needed.

Here is a letter to the POSTAL from a thankful wife, whose husband did *not* leave her unprotected:

On Saturday I received my check on the life of my husband. Words cannot express what a help that check will be, as I am left with a little boy to bring up. As soon as he can be insured it will be with the Postal Life. I thank you for your promptness and kindness.

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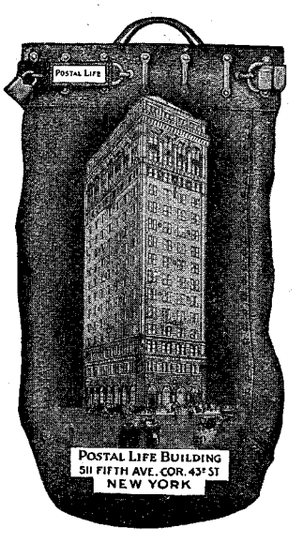

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unfurnished, in same building in New York City. No. 1. Containing living-room or studio, dining-room, kitchen, two bedrooms, bath-room and maid's room. No. 2. Containing living-room or studio, bedroom and bath. No. 3. Containing living-room or studio, bedroom and bath. Location preferably out of the usual beaten paths, something not usually rented if possible, and preferably in a private house altered for such purpose. Nothing south of Greenwich Village nor north of 72d Street will be considered. Occupancy October 1, 1919. Address CHARLES H. DAVIS, Bass River, Cape Cod, Mass.

Hotels and Resorts

MASSACHUSETTS

HOTEL PURITAN
Commonwealth Ave. Boston
THE DISTINCTIVE BOSTON HOUSE
Globe Trotters call the Puritan one of the most homelike hotels in the world. Your inquiries gladly answered and our booklet mailed
O. T. Costello, Mgr.

MARBLEHEAD, MASS.
THE LESLIE

A quiet, cozy little house by the sea PRIVATE BATHS. Descriptive booklet.

NEW YORK CITY

HOTEL JUDSON 53 Washington Square adjoining Judson Memorial Church. Rooms with and without bath. Rates $2.50 per day, including meals. Special rates for two weeks or more. Location very central. Convenient to all elevated and street car lines.

Hotel Le Marquis
31st Street & Fifth Avenue
New York

Combines every convenience and home comfort, and commends itself to people of refinement wishing to live on American Plan and be within easy reach of social and dramatic centers.

Room and bath $4.50 per day with meals, or $2.50 per day without meals.

Illustrated Booklet gladly sent upon request. JOHN P. TOLSON.

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Robinhood Inn and Cottages

Bailey Island, Me., opened June 15. Bathing, fishing, sailing. For circular, Miss MASSEY.

NEW YORK

CAMP LINGERLONG

On Pine Lake. Includes 500 acres of wildest Adirondack Mountains. Hunting, fishing, swimming, canoeing, tennis, saddle horses. Tramps to surrounding mountain peaks, Lake George and Lake Champlain. Dancing. Excellent meals. Spring water. Cabins and tents $14, $16 and up. Private parties entirely isolated. References required. Manager, ROYDEN BARBER, Clemons, N. Y.

Rye Seminary Inn

RYE, N. Y. 7 acres of beautiful grounds. 3 minutes from station. Only 30 guests. Trolleys to bathing beach. Open June 15 to September 15. 50 minutes from New York. Rates per person $25.00 weekly up. Telephone Rye 32.

Health Resorts

Crest View Sanatorium

Greenwich, Ct. First-class in all respects, home comforts. H. M. HITCHCOCK, M.D.

Health Resorts

"INTERPINES"

Beautiful, quiet, restful and homelike. Over 26 years of successful work. Thorough, reliable, dependable and ethical. Every comfort and convenience. Accommodations of superior quality. Disorder of the nervous system a specialty. Fred. W. Seward, Sr., M.D. Fred. W. Seward, Jr., M.D., Goshen, N. Y.

LINDEN Doylestown, Pa. **The Ideal Place for Sick People to Get Well** An institution devoted to the personal study and specialized treatment of the invalid. Massage, Electricity, Hydrotherapy. Apply for circular to ROBERT LIPPINCOTT WALTER, M.D. (late of The Walter Sanitarium)

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For nervous and convalescent patients. R. H. CHASE, M.D., and E. C. McDANIEL. Booklet. Wyncote, Pa.

Dr. Reeves' Sanitarium

A Private Home for chronic, nervous, and mental patients. Also elderly people requiring care. Harriet E. Reeves, M.D., Melrose, Mass.

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COUNTRY BOARD, New Jersey. Nurse's **private home** accommodates few convalescents and elderly people requiring care. 65 Halsted St., East Orange, N. J.

COUNTRY BOARD, NEW JERSEY. PRIVATE HOME desires elderly lady guests. Excellent table. Trained nurses in attendance. Phone 8275, Newark, N.J.

Real Estate

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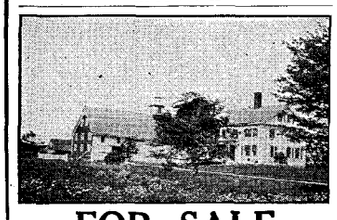
Attractive country place of 80 acres — located on State highway, 7 miles from Pomfret Station, Conn.

Colonial type, weathered shingled house, 15 rooms and 6 baths. Wide entrance hall with living and dining rooms each 35 by 18 feet opening off, both with large open fireplaces. Large pantry, kitchen, storeroom, and servant's dining-room. House heated by hot-air furnaces; 2 separate systems supply water to house and stable. Large barn, garage, workshop, hen houses, ice house, ice pond, wonderful springs, well with well sweep, garden house, etc.; ample pasturage and tillable land and large acreage of natural timber. House stands ⅛ mile from highway and commands wide view of hills and valleys for many miles; 12-ft. piazza extends 3 sides. Abundance of shrubbery, fine shade trees, also rose garden, vegetable garden, and practically all varieties of fruit, also grape arbor. An ideal home for either summer or permanent occupancy. Arrangements can be made to include all farm equipment in sale or lease. House largely furnished with antique furniture, the purchase of which might be entertained. Cellar under entire house. Everything in excellent condition. Address the owner, W. D. GLENN, Phœnixville, Windham Co., Conn.

MAINE



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MASSACHUSETTS

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NEW JERSEY

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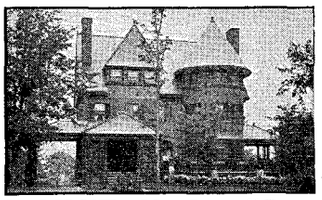
Real Estate

NEW JERSEY



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14-ROOM HOUSE, 2 baths, 2 verandas, all improvements, ½ acre on hill 8 minutes from depot. New York suburb. Excellent opening for school or boarding house. Suitable for sanitarium. Tenafly, N. J. 833, Outlook.

NEW YORK

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CANNON POINT
ESSEX-ON-LAKE CHAMPLAIN
NEW YORK

1½ miles south of village, 7½ acres, partly wooded with pine, hemlock, cedar, and variety of deciduous trees. Small summer bungalow on point 30 feet above lake, commanding wonderful view of lake, Green Mountains, Split Rock Mountain and lighthouse two miles distant. Bungalow has hall used for living-room, two sleeping-rooms, bath, servant's room. Veranda 80x12 feet, upper balcony 25x12 feet, detached den and guest room, kitchen and *storeroom* annexed. Excellent water supply from lake; Rider & Ericsson hot air engine; tank capacity 1,100 gallons. Icehouse containing small cold storage. Boat house with man's sleeping quarters. Beautiful beach and bay, good harbor for boats, two buoys. Cliffs of porphyry rock rise 75 feet above the lake, forming the most beautiful natural site on Lake Champlain. Premises never occupied except by owner, who can be addressed or seen during summer months.
Mrs. ENOCH H. CURRIER
Essex-on-Lake Champlain, New York

NEW YORK CITY

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WANTED—Experienced man who can take charge of kitchen, bakery, pantry, dining hall, laundry, housekeeping, and supplies and engage employees in institution near Philadelphia serving five hundred people. 7,181, Outlook.

Companions and Domestic Helpers

WANTED—Refined, educated girl to accept permanent home in Christian household as mother's helper; children three, six, and eight. 7,188, Outlook.

LARGE family, simple country place, want to employ refined woman as cook. Three other employees. Professional servant not wanted. Mrs. Stanley Bright, Reading, Pa.

HELP WANTED

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TEACHER *wanted for children's home*, Bethlehem, Pa. Ages six to fourteen. Salary $50 month and board, room, laundry. Address Mrs. H. J. Meyers, Bethlehem, Pa.

WANTED, August 24, governess for child four years old. American, Protestant. One who can speak French preferred. Permanent position if satisfactory. 7,179, Outlook.

INQUIRIES already coming in for teachers in all subjects for 1919. International Musical and Educational Agency, Carnegie Hall, N. Y.

SITUATIONS WANTED

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YOUNG WOMAN, college graduate, with five years' business experience, desires secretarial or stenographic position in a girls' or boys' boarding school or college for the coming winter. 7,175, Outlook.

WANTED — Position in doctor's office, young lady of some experience. 7,183, Outlook.

Companions and Domestic Helpers

BY young lady of refinement, position, companion to elderly lady. References exchanged. State wages offered. 7,174, Outlook.

COMPANION, traveled extensively, nursing experience, good household manager, well educated, references, desires position. Write, care Cheshire, 74 Farrington St., Flushing, L. I.

YOUNG lady, slightly hard of hearing, wishes position as companion. Understands lip-reading. Christian. References. 7,176, Outlook.

WANTED—Position as managing housekeeper or companion by middle-aged widow of experience. References furnished. 7,180, Outlook.

A woman of refinement would like care of gentleman's home. Capable of taking entire charge. Best of references furnished. 7,156, Outlook.

LADY desires to place her excellent English nurse with family going to England or France in early fall. Will take charge of children or invalid in return for passage. Absolutely reliable. Write Mrs. Theodore Lilley, Tolland, Mass.

EDUCATED COUPLE, without children, seeking place in fine family; man, Hollander, as secretary-companion, invalid care, supervisor; woman, French, as lectrice, companion, French teacher. Both speak English, French, Dutch, Latin, German. Would travel. Excellent references. 7,187, Outlook.

By refined middle-aged woman as companion, mother's helper, or nursery governess for two children. References. Address Mrs. Smiddy, P. O. Box 566, Rye, N. Y.

Teachers and Governesses

TEACHER of mathematics and French *wishes position.* 7,163, *Outlook.*

KINDERGARTNER, with fourteen years' experience, desires position for autumn in New York City. 7,185, Outlook.

GOVERNESS OR NURSERY GOVERNESS. Mrs. Charles H. Davis recommends most highly an English governess who has *been with her for three years and is leaving* in September. Address Miss J. M. Perry or Mrs. Davis, Bass River, Cape Cod, Mass.

YOUNG lady, college graduate with two years' teaching experience, desires position as governess or tutor for the following year. Excellent references. 7,190, Outlook.

MISCELLANEOUS

WANTED—Young women to take nine months' course in nursing. Frances Parker Memorial Home, New Brunswick, N. J.

GREGG Shorthand. If your school does not teach shorthand, let me save you two months' expense by correspondence course. 7,165, Outlook.

M. W. Wightman & Co. Shopping Agency, established 1895. No charge; prompt delivery. 44 West 22d St., New York.

SUB-NORMAL children can be placed ideally with well-trained, experienced women. 7,177, Outlook.

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